

Anti-Colonial war, Anti-nuclear campaign & anti-Vietnam War 1972

(***Anti-Soviet Red Army Occupations – info*)

Flyers & newsletters where present, followed by *journal articles*

*for information only

Code WV = Workers Vanguard

Code LC = Labor Challenge

Code FW = Forward

1972-Flyers & Newsletters

1972-02Feb5a	Flyer: VMC Action Conference: Canada junior partner in US war
1972-02Feb5b	Flyer: Prairie Anti-War Conference, Saskatoon
1972-03-10-Feb3a	<i>VMC U.of Waterloo series</i> : Film: Interview with MyLai Veterans
1972-03-10-Feb3b	UofW: War research aids genocide in SE Asia (VMC Forum)
1972-03-10-Feb15	UofW: Meeting: Should the campus aid the US military....?
1972-03-10-Feb24	UofW: VMC meeting: Brief on War Research, Campus Centre
1972-03-10-Mar2	UofW: Campaign to end war research (VMC speakers)
1972-03-10-Mar21	UofW: VMC meetings on war research each Thursday 4 pm
1972-03-10-Mar29a	UofW: Student Day of Protest, Demonstrate to end war research
1972-03-10-Mar29b	UofW: Stop war research, End Canadian Complicity; to Ottawa
1972-03-10-Oct22	U.ofW. War research meeting with VMC, organize Oct. 30 Teach-In
1972-09Sept-1	<i>Mobilizer</i> (Student M.C. & VMC) The campus as killer: Ecocide
1972-11Nov4	Poster: Stop the Genocide in Vietnam! Student conference UofT.
1972-11Nov18	Poster: No Canadian troops to Vietnam! Demonstrate at City Hall

Articles

1972-LC#47	US bombing exposes 'Vietnamization'
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1972-LC#48-1	Edit: Nixon 'peace' plan means more war
1972-LC#48-2	Ottawa backs war research on campus
1972-LC#49	Launch anti-war campaign
1972-LC#50-1	War escalates while Peking greets Nixon
1972-LC#50-2	Anti-war movement mobilizes for April 22 (info) <i>Peaceful coexistence' a bankrupt line (Canadian Peace Congress)</i>
1972-LC#51	Edit: Out of NATO, NORAD! (info) <i>Behind Nixon's China policy</i> (info) <i>Peking's record of betrayal (Vietnam)</i>
1972-LC#52	Confront Nixon in Ottawa
1972-LC#53-1	Stop US assault on Vietnamese
1972-LC#53-2	US out now – Fourth International statement
1972-LC#54-1	Build mass protests to stop Nixon's Vietnam escalation
1972-LC#54-2	Ottawa protest confronts Nixon
1972-LC#54-3	Photo: Parliament Hill April 15 (info) <i>Can't fight imperialism by ignoring war issue (Left forces abstaining)</i>
1972-LC#55-1	Vietnam for the Vietnamese! Mobilize to force US out now!
1972-LC#55-2	Vietnam – one country, by John Wilson
1972-LC#55-3	Escalation spurs worldwide protest (note) <i>Letters: 'Nixon go home' is naive slogan; Sask. Demonstration</i> Will Trudeau fight U.S. domination? (LC interviews Ross Dowson)
1972-LC#56-1	Nixon escalates assault on Vietnamese; Edit: Unity needed to fight
1972-LC#56-2	Why Nixon escalated the war
1972-LC#56-3	Antiwar movement mobilizes to stop Nixon
1972-LC#57-1	Moscow toasts Nixon as US blasts Vietnam
1972-LC#57-2	Summit talks threaten Vietnam, by George Addison

1972-LC#57-3	Into the streets against the war (4 th International statement) (note) <i>In brief: Vietnamese faces deportation from Canada</i>
1972-LC#58	Mass action strategy centers on NDP, by Ross Dowson
1972-LC#58-1	Counter Kremlin betrayal with anti-war protests
1972-LC#58-2	Close Suffield war base!
1972-LC#58-3	Two and a half Hiroshimas daily
1972-LC#58-4	In brief: Vietnamese tour Canada; Latin American demonstrations
1972-LC#59-1	Moscow, Peking betray Vietnamese struggle
1972-LC#59-2	Photos: Hugo Blanco on Vietnam; Latin American demonstration
1972-LC#60-1	Nixon talks 'peace,' bombs Vietnamese
1972-LC#60-2	Rally protests Canadian war research (Suffield) (note) <i>In Brief: Liquor Board cancels license for antiwar festival</i>
1972-LC#61-1	Vietnamese stand firm as Nixon bombs dikes
1972-LC#61-2	US-Moscow detente re: Egypt's moves; Korea pressures Vietnam
1972-LC#61-3	Edit: No more Hiroshimas!
1972-LC#61-4	Where Communist Party goes wrong on Vietnam
1972-LC#61-5	(U.S.) Socialist (presidential) campaign biggest in 50 years (info) <i>The truth about George McGovern</i>
1972-LC#62	US steps up terror bombing Hiroshima Day Peace Festival addressed by VMC
1972-LC#63-1	Canada's record of complicity in Vietnam
1972-LC#64-1	Anti-war movement plans fall actions; U.S. bombing (stats)
1972-LC#64-2	In brief: Amchitka test caused earthquakes (info) <i>Socialist press tells the truth on Vietnam (subscription drive)</i> (info) <i>Liberals hide reactionary foreign policy, by Dennis Lomas</i>
1972-LC#65-1	Edit: Vietnam is election issue
1972-LC#65-2	US aim: starve, terrorize Vietnam

1972-LC#65-3	Anti-war protests November 18
1972-LC#66-1	Edit: Defend Vietnam!
1972-LC#66-2	War goes on as Nixon stalls peace <i>(note) In brief: US antiwar movement pickets Nixon</i>
1972-LC#67-1	Hands off Vietnam!
1972-LC#67-2	Self-determination for the Vietnamese people!
1972-LC#68-1	Build anti-war movement to defend Indochinese
1972-LC#68-2	Build the anti-war movement! (Student conference)
1972-LC#69-1	No Canadian troops to Indochina!
1972-LC#69-2	US planning to stay in South Vietnam
1972-LC#70-1	Canada helps US in Vietnam blackmail
1972-LC#70-2	Editorial: Speak up, Mr. Lewis (on US terror bombing)
1972-LC#70-3	Photo: Anti-Vietnam war actions in Australia, N.Z.

vietnam action conference



Canada: junior partner in U.S. war machine

-100,000 Canadians protest Amchitka test

-Campus war research exposed by Canadian University Press

-U.S. National Peace Action Coalition calls for international mass demonstrations on April 22

Activists from across Ontario will be attending this conference, to plan a Spring Offensive against the war in Indochina. This is one of four regional conferences being held simultaneously across Canada.

JARVIS COLLEGIATE

(Jarvis at Wellesley)

TORONTO

sat. feb. 5

Registration 10 a.m.

\$3 workers

\$2 campus, unemployed, and unsalaried

\$1 high school students

Speakers: Kathy Sojourner, National Peace Action Coalition, USA
George Addison, Vietnam Mobilization Committee, Toronto

Panels: Discussions with

Prof. Chandler Davis, U. of T.

Kay Macpherson, Voice of Women

Marjaleena Repo-Davis, sociologist

Prof. Ron Albritton, York U.

Prof. Ken Golby, York U.

Activist Workshops:

students, women, labour

sun. feb. 6

Starts at 12 noon

ORGANIZING STUDENTS
TO BREAK THE CAMPUSES
FROM THE U.S. WAR MACHINE.

-a student workshop to
launch a Student Mobilization Committee.

I want to attend. I enclose \$_____ registration fee.
Here is a donation towards the Spring Offensive \$_____
I will do volunteer work (phoning, leafleting, mailing, etc.) ☐

Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____

-----clip & mail-----

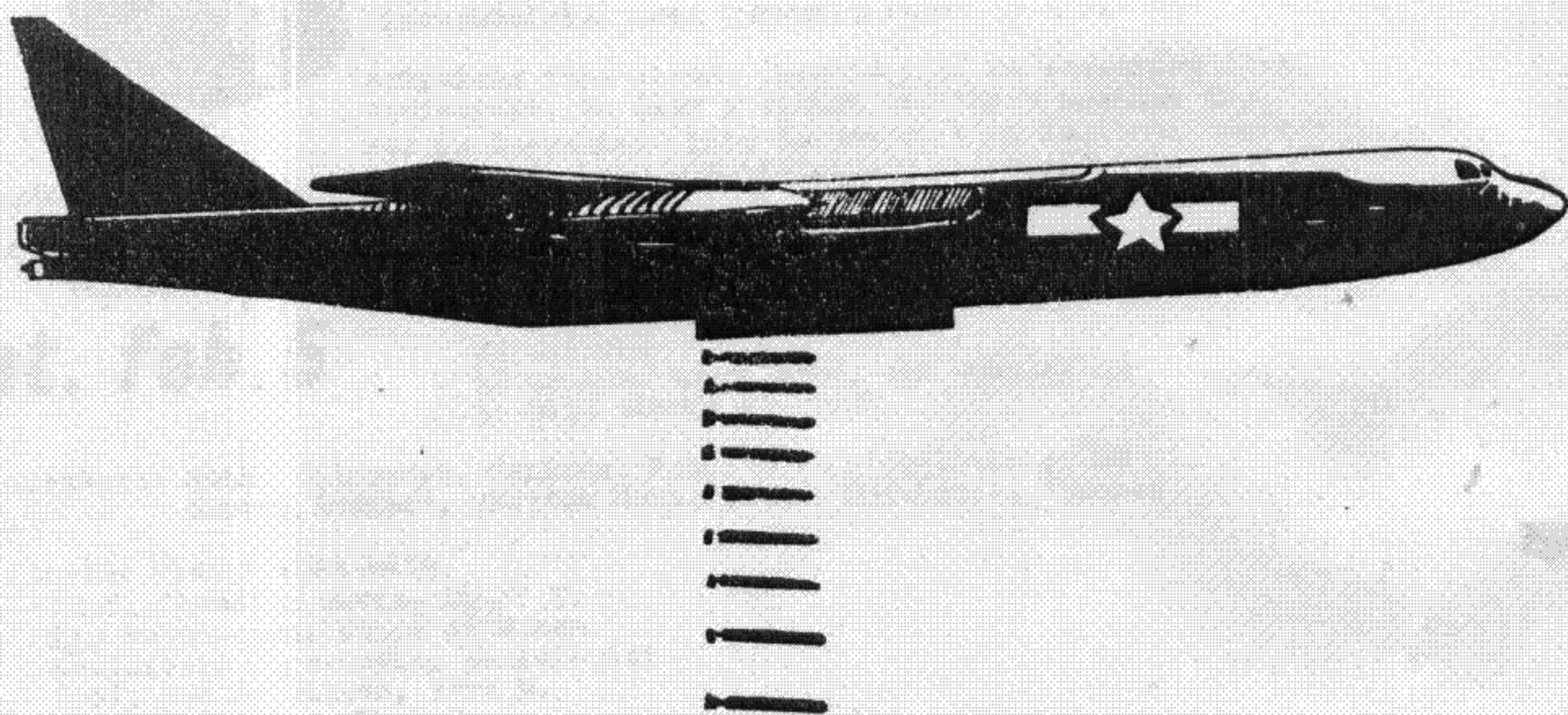
Further information: VMC, 241 Victoria St., Toronto tel. 863-0494

End Canada's Complicity!

Withdraw U.S. troops & bombers from S.E. Asia!

No more Amchitkas!

PRAIRIE ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE



FEB. 5,6 SASKATOON

Starts 10 a.m., Feb. 5 — Memorial Union Building, U. of S.
(Hosted by U. of S. Student's Representative Council)

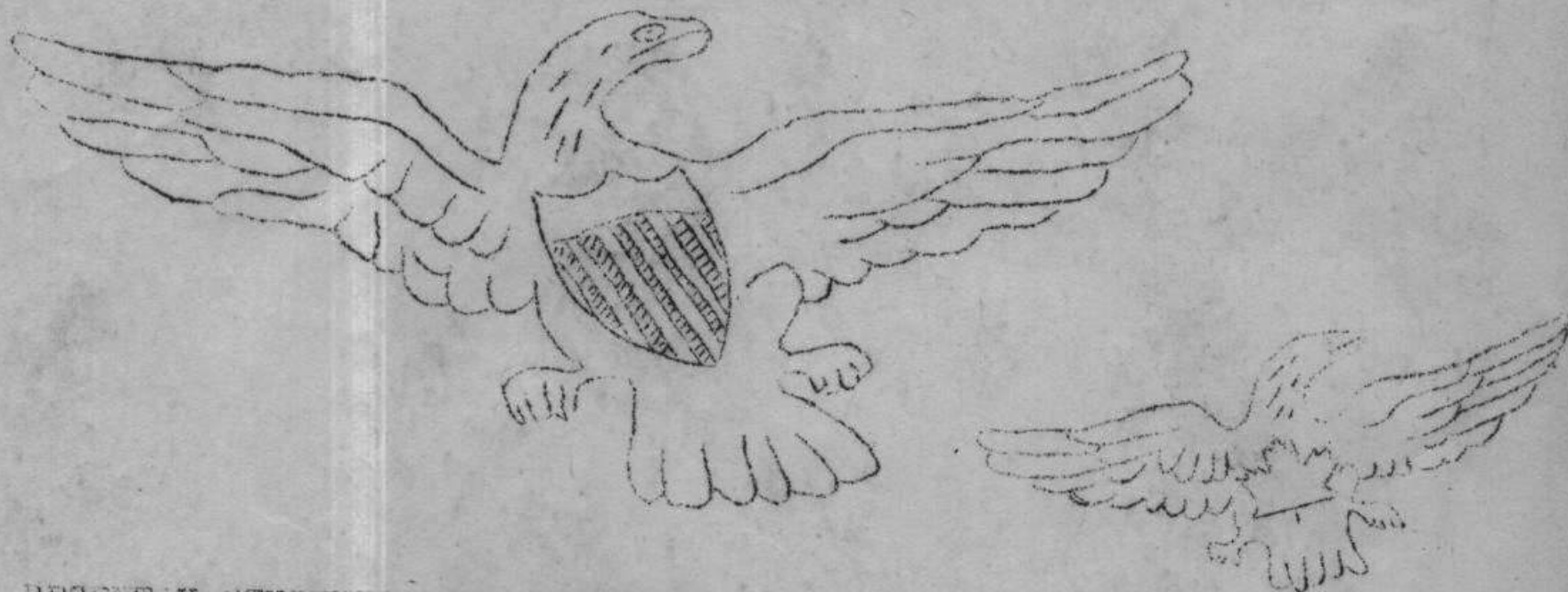
- ★ Plan April 22 — International Day of Protest.
- ★ Plan Suffield Demonstration against British Troop Training.
- ★ Organize Prairie Student Mobilization Committee.

Committee to end the war in south east asia

242-6700

box 22 sub6 Saskatoon

SHOULD THE CAMPUS AID THE U.S. MILITARY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA BY ALLOWING WAR RESEARCH PROJECTS?



RECENTLY STUDENTS HAVE BECOME AWARE OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES
COMPLICITY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS. THE CAMPAIGN
INITIATED ON THIS CAMPUS BY THE VIETNAM MOBILISATION COMMITTEE IS NOW
BEING CARRIED ACROSS CANADA BY THE STUDENT ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT, THE
S T U D E N T M O B I L I S A T I O N C O M M I T E E.
THE OBJECTIVE IS TO END THE USE OF CAMPUSES FOR RESEARCH BY THE
U.S.MILITARY. THE U.S.AIR FORCE PROJECT ON PROPELLANTS IN THE MECH.
ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT AT WATERLOO IS JUST ONE EXAMPLE.

Mass participation determines the success of the campaign.

Time: Tues. Feb. 15
7:30 PM

Place: Campus Centre Pub Area

IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE INTERNATIONAL OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE U.S.
INTERVENTION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

For further information call 742-7718

S T U D E N T M O B I L I S A T I O N C O M M I T E E

OAR (RRYC)
1400 WILSON BLVD
ARLINGTON, VA. 22209
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University of Waterloo
Attn: Dean of Graduate Studies
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada
REV 06/02/CA

HQ OAR <RRYC>
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ARLINGTON, VA 22209
.....
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE
OFFICIAL BUSINESS



war research aids genocide in Southeast Asia

Forum

THUR. 4:00 P.M.
CAMPUS CENTRE - ROOM 135

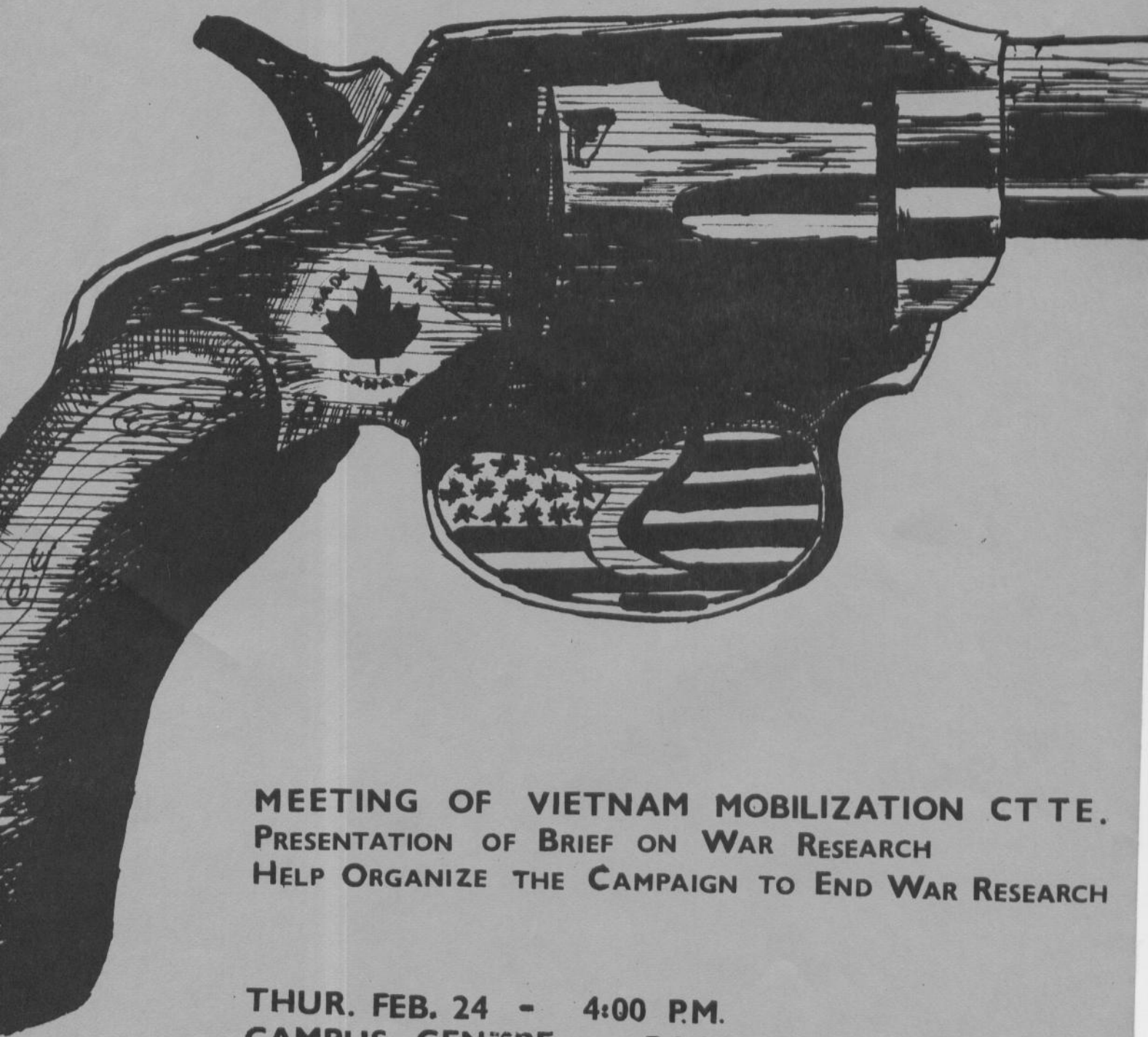
VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

CONTACT VMC AT FEDERATION OFFICE

UofW sponsors 60 military research projects for \$350,000

"RESEARCH - The Key to Aerospace Superiority"

(Found in U. of W., 1972)



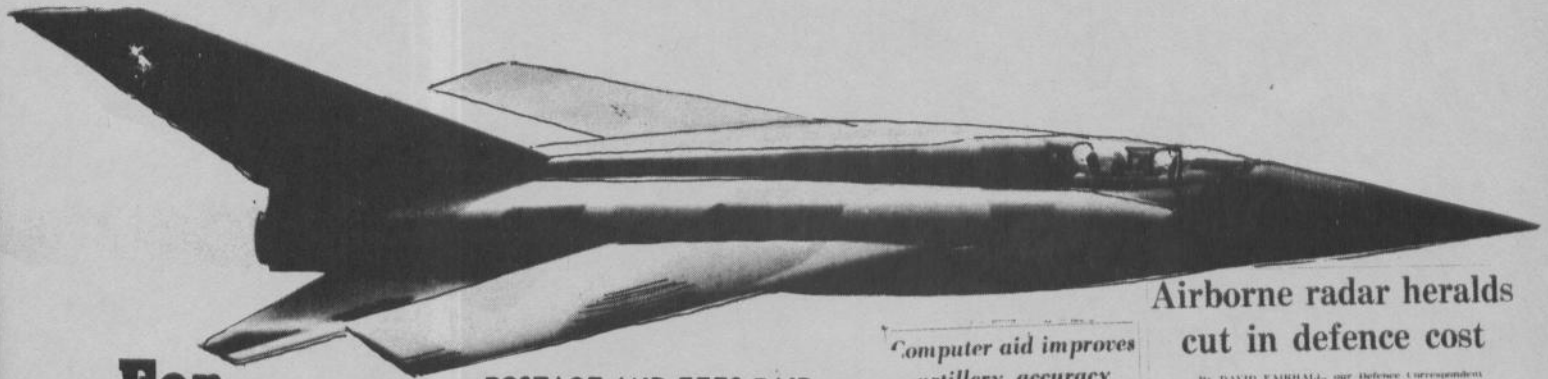
**MEETING OF VIETNAM MOBILIZATION CT TE.
PRESENTATION OF BRIEF ON WAR RESEARCH
HELP ORGANIZE THE CAMPAIGN TO END WAR RESEARCH**

**THUR. FEB. 24 - 4:00 P.M.
CAMPUS CENTRE - ROOM 135**

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CALL 742-7718

HELP ORGANIZE THE CAMPAIGN TO END

war research



For a better chemical process...

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blend your know-how with ours.

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.....
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OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Computer aid improves artillery accuracy

By Roy W. F. E. THOMPSON,
Military Correspondent

THE British computer system called FACE which will revolutionize the speed and accuracy of artillery fire in the field, will receive its first wide-scale test that week at the School of Artillery, Larkhill.

With three Field Regt. B.A. all in service of a practice unit. The system is equipped with the 100mm field gun mounted on a base of a Infantry Bde. The three Army Brigades stationed in Yorkshire.

These have been given the computer system at the School of Artillery, Larkhill. The system is equipped with the 100mm field gun mounted on a base of a Infantry Bde. The three Army Brigades stationed in Yorkshire.

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Airborne radar heralds cut in defence cost

By DAVID FAIRHALL, our Defence Correspondent

A number of airborne radar systems which could greatly reduce the cost of defence by providing a more accurate picture of the battlefield are being developed by the Ministry of Defence.

The systems are being developed by the Ministry of Defence. They are being developed by the Ministry of Defence.

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MISSILES TO GET 'MAGIC EYES' TO BOOST DEFENCE

By DAVID FAIRHALL, our Defence Correspondent

MISSILES TO GET 'MAGIC EYES' TO BOOST DEFENCE

First order for Sea Dart missile

By our Air Correspondent

The first production order for the Sea Dart missile has been placed by the Ministry of Defence.

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The sure way...
is by united effort

The sure way to safeguard the future

"RESEARCH - The Key to Aerospace Superiority"

meeting OF THE

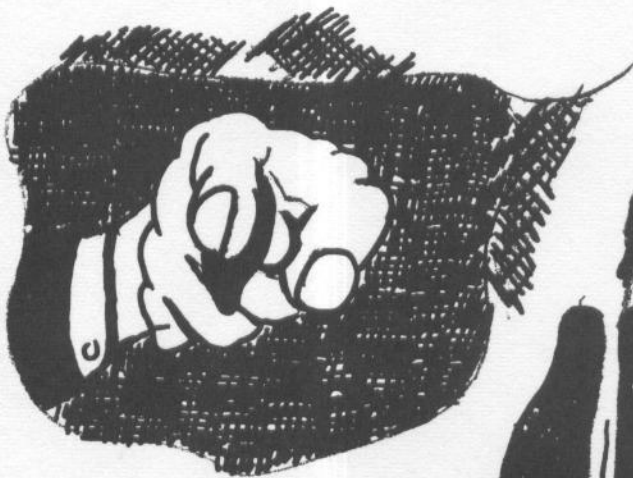
VIETNAM MOBILIZATION CTTE.

SPEAKERS: ELLIE KIRZNER -
TORONTO STUDENT MOBILIZATION
CTTE.; ABIE WEISFELD - U.O.F.W. V.M.C.

THUR. MAR. 2 - 4:00 P.M.
CAMPUS CENTRE - ROOM 135

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CALL 742-7718

(Found in 1972 - U of Waterloo)



WAR
RESEARCH

It is going to be a
major issue on this
campus and others on
March 21 & 29.
Meeting each thurs.
CC 135 at 4:00 PM

VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

CONTACT VMC AT FEDERATION OFFICE



demonstrate to end
war research
on Campus



MARCH 28. QUEENS PARK toronto
WITH THE ONTARIO UNION of STUDENTS
PROTEST ON THE WRIGHT REPORT

March 29 Student Day of Protest
WED. 1:00
ARTS QUADRANGLE

HELP ORGANIZE THE CAMPAIGN TO END WAR RESEARCH

UofW sponsors 60 military research projects for \$350,000

VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

CONTACT VMC AT FEDERATION OFFICE

"RESEARCH - The Key to Aerospace Superiority"

STOP WAR RESEARCH

STUDENT DAY OF PROTEST

WEDNESDAY MARCH 29

2:00 p.m. WENTWORTH HOUSE men's lounge

WAR RESEARCH ON CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES: Abie Weisfeld
- University of Waterloo
subcommittee investigating
war research
- Student Mobilization Ctte.

HARRISBURG SEVEN : Feros Ahmed
VIETNAM WAR

BUILD THE PEACE TRAIN TO OTTAWA TO CONFRONT NIXON- TRUDEAU APRIL 1st

to help build or for further info

call 529-8979

END CANADIAN COMPLICITY

Handwritten:
Hamilton
McMaster
March 29
1972

U. OF W. WAR RESEARCH

THIS AFTERNOON, THURSDAY OCT. 22, the University Senate meeting will be attended by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. All students interested in these issues should come along. We will ask the Senate to DISCLOSE THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF MILITARY RESEARCH ON THIS CAMPUS, and to CANCEL CLASSES ON FRIDAY, OCT. 30 for students and faculty to join in a day of workshops and educationals on the Indo-China war and Canada's participation.

If you want to attend, gather with us at 2:45 in the Foyer of the Engineering building, and we will enter the Senate meeting together around 3:00.

THERE WILL BE A MEETING TO PLAN STRATEGY FOR THE SENATE MEETING AND THE OCT. 30 TEACH-IN:

*TIME: TODAY, THURSDAY, OCT. 22, 1:30 PM

*PLACE: CAMPUS CENTRE, ROOM 135

All interested people are welcome to join this meeting and then proceed to the Engineering building at 2:45. See you there (if there's room)!

* WITHDRAW ALL U.S. TROOPS FROM INDO-CHINA NOW!

* END CANADA'S COMPLICITY - SUPPORT CANADIAN INDEPENDENCE!

* DISCLOSE ALL MILITARY RESEARCH ON CAMPUS - END ALL MILITARY RESEARCH ON CAMPUS!

MOBILIZER

Published by the Ontario Student Mobilization Committee and the Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

Volume 2, Number 2. September, 1972.



THE CAMPUS AS KILLER ECOCIDE CANADA & THE WAR

...Why does the Canadian antiwar movement talk about Canada's complicity in Vietnam? ...Isn't the Vietnam war an American war which has nothing to do with Canada? ...Isn't Canada a neutral country which serves just on the International Control Commission in Southeast Asia?

These are common questions that most people ask when first learning about the Vietnam war. The ideas contained in these questions reflect the tremendous campaign of propaganda, and information suppression which the Canadian government and the Canadian news media have carried on for the U.S. over the last seventeen years. It would be unwise to tell the Canadian people too much about their own government's role in the brutal oppression of the Vietnamese peoples. They might want a change of government.

Since 1945, the Canadian government has continually and persistently attempted to buy into the U.S. "treasure chest." This has been facilitated by a large number of treaties and executive agreements with the U.S. government, especially in the area of continental defense and military strategy. From the war-time pacts for shared weapons production, to the recently re-negotiated Defense Production and Research Sharing Agreements, the Canadian government has integrated the Canadian military, war research, war production, and foreign policy with the dominant and more powerful U.S.

The Liberal and Conservative governments which have consistently carried this policy since the end of W.W.II, have not been forced into this situation. Quite to the contrary, it has been probably the most lucrative direction the Canadian big business governments have ever taken. It has resulted in massive profits for Canadian, British, and U.S. war production firms which unequally share the Canadian economy. And it has tied us firmly to the very heart of the U.S. empire and its war machine.

What choice did we have? You may hear that the U.S. held a club over our heads, but can you remember ever being asked for your support as a voter, or the last time the government told you what military alliances or pacts it was negotiating with the U.S.? No. From the involvement of Canada in the aggressive military alliances of NATO, and NORAD, to the role Canada plays in the diplomatic or peace-keeping maneuvers of the U.S., to war research in our universities and colleges, and to the subordination of all our social needs to the intense profit making of war industry, the Canadian government, representing the Canadian big business community, has willingly sold the people of Canada down the path to war in Vietnam.

Over \$300 million a year in manufactured weaponry and materials for war; billions in strategic natural resources; \$6 billion in grants and allowances, mainly for companies like ITT, Westinghouse CGE, Canadair, Marsland, Sylvania, Control Data, Honeywell, CIL, and other Canadian and U.S. companies which produce war goods for the U.S.. How much of the budget of the DRB (Defense Research Board) would pay for the fee hikes in Canadian post-secondary schools? How much more in government subsidies for war production, would pay the high school teachers being laid-off

or support staff being fired? How much of the total in support of the U.S. genocide in Vietnam would pay for safe and effective birth control research, or medical care to all, or unemployment increases, more jobs, construction of much needed housing and hospitals, training of doctors, nurses, and para medical workers, better schools, more teachers, and extended community services? Why must the people of Canada, or the U.S., or anywhere else pay in their taxes and in the lack of concern from their governments for their needs, for a war they are mainly against, and a war which will not provide them anything but a bloody conscience?

But, if that isn't enough, you can have your pick of other types of complicity in the war crimes of the U.S.. The Canadian government, as first publicized in the Pentagon Papers, has acted on behalf of the U.S. as a diplomatic intermediary. Or in plain words, as a 'goon' or message-boy for U.S. threats to Hanoi. The Canadian government has continually used its position as a "neutral" country on the International Control Commission to help the U.S. violate the 1954 Geneva Accords they were supposed to be protecting. Canada time and time again covered up the innumerable U.S. transgressions, and went so far as to spy for the U.S. military. Even when the U.S. mass media was attacking U.S. policy in Vietnam, which came long after the majority of the U.S. people declared their opposition to the war, the daily press in Canada continued to carry the lies and propaganda of the Pentagon as though it were gospel. The Canadian government realizes that they could bring a lot of pressure to bear on the U.S. to stop the war, but have persistently refused to say anything. Why? It would not serve their interests in being a junior partner of the U.S. world empire.

While Nixon, Trudeau and their friends in industry wage a war for profits and control of world markets, we pay the price along with the Vietnamese. We have more in common with the struggle of the Vietnamese than with our own government. Now is the time to stand up, be counted and move out into the streets, out into the universities and schools, and out into the communities to build the mass antiwar movement and win back our integrity and peace.

This fall must be a period of intensive activity on the campuses and in the high schools. We must educate many people to the necessity to oppose the war, by fighting to rid their campuses of war research, by struggling to start and support antiwar clubs or committees in their high schools, and on their campuses, by understanding the relationship of the economic cutbacks and crises to the war economy of North America, by building the community antiwar coalitions through mass action in the streets of every city and town in Canada. Already, Student Mobilization Committees and antiwar clubs are beginning to gather information on war related research on campuses, publicizing it, and building student support to confront the administrations which perpetuate this perversion of our educational systems with blood money from the U.S. and its junior partner in Ottawa. Take over the facilities of the university to build the campaign against campus war research, and the fall mobilizations against the war. Now is the time to act. Build the national Student Mobilization Committee and the Antiwar Movement.

EDITORIAL

VIETNAM: A CANADIAN PROBLEM

MOBILIZER

Published by the Ontario Student Mobilization Committee and the Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

Financed with a grant from the University of Waterloo Federation of Students. Signed articles express the opinions of the authors and not necessarily those of the MOBILIZER. These are expressed in editorials.

With thanks to the ONTARIO, student newspaper of the University of Guelph, Phil Warman, Dan Chrichton and others. Editor....Richard DeGaetano
Single issue, 15¢.

Canada in Vietnam

The following article reprinted from Canadian Dimensions (Jan.-Feb.-March 1968 vol. 5, nos. 2 & 3) makes clear Canada's involvement with the U.S. war machine.

"In view of the unsettled world situation and the mutual interest of the U.S. and Canada in the defence of North America, due to their close geographical proximity United States defense economic cooperation with Canada must not only continue but be expanded so as to achieve the following objectives: greater standardization of military equipment; greater integration of military production and equipment; wider dispersal of production facilities; establishment of supplemental sources of supplies; removal of obstacles that prevent the flow of defence equipment between the two countries; the determination of Canadian production facilities available for the supply of U.S. current and future mobilization requirements; and the furnishing of planned mobilization schedules to Canadian contractors producing for the U.S.A. as guidance in the event of full mobilization; ensure the most economical use of defence funds, and accord equal consideration to the business communities of both countries."

U.S. Dept. of Defence
Directive No. 2035.1
July 1960.

NATIONAL PEACE ACTION COALITION



Dear Friends:

The fifth National Antiwar Convention, hosted by the National Peace Action Coalition, was held July 21-23, 1972, in Los Angeles, California. Close to 1,000 people attended the convention from all regions of the U.S. and from five countries. Thirty-two trade unions were represented and 55 organizations. The convention came at an extremely crucial time in the war — a time when U.S. planes are bombing Vietnam's dike systems. The bombing of the dikes could result in death for up to 15 million Vietnamese people by drowning or starvation.

"We here assembled at the National Peace Action Coalition Convention in Los Angeles, California, July 21-23, 1972, call upon the peoples of the world to join us in an international expression of outrage against the inhuman and calculated plan for catastrophe by flood through the U.S. bombing of the dike system of Vietnam. If this genocidal plan is allowed to succeed, millions will die."

"We call upon the peace forces of the world to join together in solidarity with the Vietnamese to force the United States government to stop bombing the dikes, stop mining the harbours, and stop waging its aggressive war in Indochina."

"We call upon the people of all nations to join with the American people in protesting this rush to genocide through world-wide demonstrations on Thursday, October 26 and Saturday, November 18, 1972. Together we will demand: An end to the bombing now! A total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all United States forces, planes, ships, financial aid, and material from Vietnam and an end of the United States support of the Thieu regime or any other United States imposed regime."

The importance of world-wide demonstrations demanding an end to U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia cannot be overestimated. We sincerely hope that you will join with us in picket lines on October 26, 1972, and in mass demonstrations on November 18, 1972. Please inform us of your plans so that we can communicate regularly and so that we can give your actions the widest possible publicity in the United States.

Yours for OUT NOW!

National Coordinators,
National Peace Action Coalition.

ANTIWAR CONFERENCES

in your area

EDMONTON	Oct. 14
OTTAWA	Oct. 1
TORONTO	Sept. 30
VANCOUVER	Sept. 30

THE CAMPUS AS KILLER

The following report was adopted by the Federation of Students at the University of Waterloo in March '72 and has formed the basis of a campaign conducted there to end the military research on the U. of W. campus.

Other campuses have already begun to mobilize students against their campus complicity under the leadership of the Student Mobilization Committee, at York, Dalhousie, U. of T., U. of Alberta, and U.B.C.

In this coming school year the 'cross-Canada campaign against complicity with the U.S. war in Indochina will become a central issue on the campuses as the struggle against war research spreads across Canada.

With the shift of the U.S. war in Southeast Asia to an automated air war using sophisticated electronic technology, combined with the use of chemical-biological warfare, the importance of Canada's role in the U.S. war machine has increased tremendously. As a major supplier of war materials and a source of latest weapons systems, Canada has become a focal point in the opposition against the U.S. war. The significance of the Canadian antiwar movement is more obvious and presents the U.S. with a major threat to its continued policy of Vietnam genocide.

Since the early days of the American involvement in Vietnam in 1966 there has been a constant protest on the U.S. presence in Vietnam, now South-East Asia, and the Canadian government's complicity in that war. That complicity was pointed out to a population conditioned to think of Canada as a non-military power capable only of a supportive role, never taking overt military action and certainly not helping the American effort in Vietnam but trying to cool things down as a member of the I.C.C. Now much of that image is crumbling but surprisingly the universities in Canada have so far escaped such a disillusionment under the pretence of an isolationist character based on the purity of concept called "academic freedom".

The university in reality is becoming revealed as a component in the functioning of a society, firmly entrenched in efforts to support the U.S. foreign policy.

From an undergraduate's point of view the university has a function to serve her or his educational interests but from an administrative point of view the financial make up of the university's operation is the crucial question. One prime source of funds is the operation of research which brings with it personnel, facilities, prestige as well as money. On the other end of the cheque, there are the interests who are concerned with keeping pace in the ability to supply materials for lucrative military contracts, industry and the military itself, both foreign and domestic. A U.S. military publication best made its point with the title, "Research, the key to superior-



ity". By superiority we can well understand the purpose of such research when it comes down to dropping 6 millions tons of explosives on Vietnam as the U.S. has done, a quantity greater than that used in world war two.

We can see that there are three categories in research being done across Canada. That done by industry (largely American), the Canadian military (the Defence Research Board, D.R.B.) and the U.S. military.

American Military Research

The role of the U.S. military in Canadian university research is a surprising one and points to the importance of the Canadian network of complicity. According to the U.S. Congressional Record of May 1, 1969, page 11008 there were 43 research studies being carried out on campuses to a total of 3.9 million dollars.

This involved 14 at the University of Toronto, 10 at McGill University, 3 at the University of British Columbia and 2 at York University besides 10 other universities which have 1 or 2 such projects including the University of Manitoba and the University of Waterloo.

Among this research are such projects as:

University of Toronto: "very High Altitude Missile and Decoy Gas Dynamics" - \$161,000.

McGill University: "assessment of Military Performance Enhancement by Drugs" - \$139,000.

University of Manitoba: "Study of ... Malarial Parasite" - \$20,000.

University of Toronto: "Hypervelocity Launchers" - \$294,000.

McGill University: "Psychological Processes of the Central Nervous System" - \$700,000.

University of Waterloo: (Mechanical Engineering Dept.) "Fundamental Processes in Solid Propellant Ignition", \$32,000 + \$13,000 (later grant) = \$45,000.

Many of the research projects have a neutral or innocuous character to them though, but this basic research upon completion is applied by the military and business interests in their own laboratories to suit their purposes. It is those purposes, military victory together with money and power, that determines the essential character of that initial research. Any society can be considered as forming a conveyor belt, one part being basic and essential to every other part, one institution giving support to and receiving support from every other institution whatever the members of that institution may care. For those members then to

be able to exercise their will, that is to control their own functioning, they must control their institution within the general context of their society.

Canadian Military Research

The second category of research is that being carried on by the Defence Research Board of Canada (D.R.B.). As opposed to the National Research Council, (N.R.C.) the D.R.B. is concerned with specifically military applications. The dimension of research being done by the D.R.B. is enough to surprise those with a liberal image of Canada. Of all the research sponsored by the government, D.R.B. and N.R.C., about half is controlled by the D.R.B.

The rationale of the existence of the D.R.B. is that of a division of labour having been established between Canada and the U.S. leading to a heavy emphasis on military research by Canada. In particular, Canada is regarded as having done pioneer work in the area of chemical and biological warfare and as a continuing centre for the testing and development of such knowledge. This division of labour is operated by the Defence Scientific Information Service. According to the Extramural Grants Manual of the Defence Research Board, "the armed forces maintain a constant interest in the results of

research; and Canada takes part in a reciprocal exchange of scientific information with the defence organization of other countries".

"The Defence Scientific Information Service (D.S.I.S.) is a part of the Defence Research Board Headquarters in Ottawa. Its services are available to Canadian scientists and engineers working on D.R.B. grants or contracts. It specializes in documents which result from defence-sponsored research in the U.S.A., U.K., Canada and to a lesser extent in other friendly allied countries".

"This material for the most part, cannot be found in university or company libraries. ...It is received under agreements which in some cases place restrictions upon its use."

"D.S.I.S. also distributes to the defence communities of the U.S.A., U.K., Canada and any other NATO countries, copies of reprints and reports of research carried out by or under the sponsorship of the D.R.B." In conclusion it states, "The Defence Research Board fully appreciates the contributions that Canadian universities can make to these continuing objectives".

An excellent analysis of the work being carried on by the D.R.B. is contained in the article written by Ian Wiseman for the Canadian University Press. From that information we learn that the University of Waterloo is also involved here as a centre for research into radiation chemistry. From the information available

from the Office of Research Administration the various departments involved in providing research for the D.R.B. at the U. of W. are Biology, Physics, Statistics, Computing Centre, Applied Analysis and Computer

Science, Psychology, Electrical Engineering, Management Science and Mechanical Engineering. These projects total to 58 and \$335,100. from 1968 to 1972 alone. Even in Systems Design metagame theory is used to advise the U.S. administration on Vietnam policy.

The amount of information available at this time seems to be in fact just the most blatant or unsuitable aspects of university-military connections.

A more indirect but still strategic aspect of this involvement is the sharing of personnel between the university and industry as well as between the university and certain research projects having to do with military applications. For example: Canada's role and contribution to biological, chemical and nuclear warfare is quite prominent. According to the *Last Post* magazine of Dec. 1969, Canada participates in the "Technical Co-operation Program" developed during the second world war. Through that agreement, Canada established its chemical and biological warfare (C.B.W.) works at Suffield, Alberta. This program, which is illegal according to the Geneva Convention of 1925, leads to instances such as at McGill where you have Prof. E. G.D. Murray chairing a Bacteriological Warfare Research Panel; Otto Maas in charge of the Special Weapons Committee and G.B. Reed of Queen's head of the Kingston Lab. According to the MacDonald Commission of federal support to Canadian universities stated that the D.R.B. spent \$34,000. on biological and \$97,000. on chemical warfare in grants to universities in 1966-67 alone.

Industrial Research

In 1967 Walter Stewart, a writer for the *Star Weekly* charged that "the government is zealously encouraging munitions sales by private firms. Teams of experts from Ottawa's Defence Production Department scour the U.S. for contracts which are either turned over directly to Canadian firms or processed through the Canadian Commercial Corporation which not only solicits work but guarantees quality "to the American buyer, all at no cost to our manufacturers". (By "our manufacturers" the result is American subsidiaries.)

This table is prepared from data tabled in the House of Commons this year by the minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, in response to inquiries by Ed Broadbent (NDP-Oshawa) on Oct. 23, 1969. Corporations are classified as foreign-owned where more than 50 percent of

VIETNAMESE DEATHS AND CAN

voting stock is directly or indirectly owned by non-residents and there is a concentration of such ownership. Most of these companies are U.S. owned. The "Industrial Technology" program includes some companies not directly involved in war production. In its vast bulk, however, it aids defence industries and industries supplying raw materials to the U.S. war machine.

op those techniques necessary for them to carry out their operations and improve their efficiency for a greater profit. Here at Waterloo we can begin to see the further aspect of interpenetration between U.S. interests and campus research. We have projects here being conducted by Noranda mines, as well as others who are engaged in war production such as C.I.L., Dupont,

Year	Dollars
1959	96.3
1960	112.7
1961	142.6
1962	254.3
1963	142.0
1964	166.8
1965	259.5
1966	317.1
1967	307.7
1968	320.0

d) such additional members representative of universities, industry and other research interests as the Governor in Council appoints."

able in its side effects, is concerned with death, not with life. My point was that we have been so denoted, on both sides of the cold war, to this kind of benefit that we no longer even think of the meaningful moral questions. Secondly, it was ludicrous to rely on spin off effects from military research and development. If we want product X or process Y, we should do research aimed specifically at these purposes."

Mr. Pepin's reply in general revealed a concern with 'balance of payments' and profits rather than the moral basis of research and development which is what he was asked about in the first place. In fact, few Canadians realize that Canada is the fifth largest trader in armaments in the world, pulling in half a billion a year.

At the University of Waterloo where a significant amount of war research is being carried on, the Vietnam Mobilization Committee confronted the Senate in the fall of 1970 with some aspects of this research. The vice-president, Dr. Petch, defended such research by saying that:

- 1) the research is non-classified and therefore legitimate
- 2) the spin-off benefits from such projects are valuable to society which is just another way of saying that it is scientific progress
- 3) it is not up to the university to allow such research but is the choice of the researchers under the umbrella of "academic freedom".

The first point seems to imply that if an immoral policy is being carried out and it is known to a small segment of the population that the policy couldn't be immoral or it would of necessity be secret. Well, there is more than one way of blinding people as to the reality of a situation and if the information about such research could be kept secret without offending a segment of the population it most likely would be. Before the publication of the U.S. military projects in the Congressional Record in 1969 no university official admitted that these research projects existed.

The second argument brings up the question of whether or not scientific progress is based on military activity, whether it is possible to have a society which does research for the social needs of its people and not a foreign policy complicit in genocide in Vietnam, nuclear weapons escalation, and chemical and biological warfare development. Obviously there are many alternatives to military scientific research, many of which are presented as spin-off benefits of the war research that is being defended. It's all an amazing reversal of priorities where projects on the elimination of pollution are hard to find and the military is a main sponsor of research. Critics of such a policy do not regard technology or science as a rampant evil, but the use of science by the military in co-operation with government as the

Ottawa's Subsidies to Military Corporations

Program	Ownership	Fiscal Year				Total 1965-69
		1965-6	1966-7	1967-8	1968-9	
Defense Industry Productivity Program	Foreign	\$22,044,200	25,776,400	29,668,200	26,160,800	103,649,600
	Canadian	4,406,600	4,864,800	3,793,800	3,127,400	16,192,600
Program for the Advancement of Industrial Technology	Foreign	281,200	2,999,700	3,549,300	765,100	7,595,300
	Canadian	137,000	1,596,300	2,815,600	3,368,100	7,916,000
Totals		\$26,869,000	35,237,200	39,826,900	33,421,400	135,354,500

This table is prepared from data tabulated in the House of Commons this year by the minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, in response to inquiries by Ed Broadbent (NDP-Ontario) on October 23, 1969. Corporations are classified as foreign-owned where more than 50 percent of voting stock is directly or indirectly owned by non-residents and there is a concentration of such ownership. Most of these companies are U.S. owned. The "Industrial Technology" program includes some companies not directly involved in war production. In its vast bulk, however, it aids defense industries, and industries supplying raw materials to the U.S. war machine.

The above table appeared in an article by Labour Challenge on Oct. 19, 1970 in which Harry Kopyto publicized the information provided by Trade Minister Jean-Luc Pepin in response to an inquiry by Ed Broadbent (NDP-Ontario). This information upholds the charge made by Walter Stewart.

As can be seen by the table provided, there is a correlation between the increases in subsidies to the companies concerned by the Canadian government to the increase in activity by the U.S. military in South-East Asia. This carries the direct implication that the products resulting from the activity of these "Canadian" companies were to be used in the war against the Vietnamese people and in what is becoming evident as their physical extermination by technological means. A policy such as this is unbearable. The result of these programs was \$1.2 billion worth of armament sales to the U.S. over a four year period also corresponded to the heightened activity in the South-East Asia arena.

The corporations concerned are generally American and in 1968-69, 89% of the Canadian government grants for research and development went to such foreign-owned corporations as Litton Systems, General Dynamics, Bendix, Sperry-Rand, General Electric, Westinghouse and Hawker-Siddeley. For example, Canadair, a wholly-owned aircraft subsidiary of General Dynamics of the U.S. was given \$24,565,100. from three combined giveaway programs between 1966 and 1969. Other recipients are corporations such as Noranda, Cominco and Eldorado mining which supply the U.S. war machine with strategic resources such as copper, nickel and uranium. Obviously, these corporations are going to use universities to devel-

Westinghouse, Marsland Industries, etc.

In his book, *The Energy Poker Game*, by Jim Laxer of the Waffle group, he stated, "By the end of the 1960's the U.S. had come to depend on Canada not only for immense profits, but also for strategic supplies in maintaining the military power on which the Americans depended for their control of much of the globe. One corporation alone, International Nickel (INCO) supplied the U.S. with the bulk of its vital nickel as well as sending its investors, a majority of whom are American, a net profit of one hundred and forty-three and a half million dollars in 1968. Aluminum, copper and zinc flowed from Canada to the U.S. Of course INCO also does its research here at the University of Waterloo.

Further information concerning the companies involved in the sale of war material can be found in the Government publication *Defence Products*, but it is not available to Canadian citizens.

This policy of luring American military industry to Canada through grants for research and development has very serious implications regarding Canadian independence. What semblance of independence can there be if the Canadian government itself actively encourages the rapid take over of Canadian industry by American corporations who in turn tie Canada into a continentalist foreign policy through military sales of \$500,000,000 a year. Under the Canada-U.S. Defence Production Sharing Agreement industry in Canada has been providing increasing amounts of war material corresponding to the escalation of the war in Vietnam.

U.S. procurements of military equipment in Canada in millions of dollars:

On this topic, Mr. Pepin stated in the House of Commons in response to Ed Broadbent that, "It is not surprising that foreign-owned or controlled companies should receive quite substantial percentages of these funds. In the areas we are mostly concerned about the areas of secondary industry, over 60% of Canadian industry is foreign controlled. The percentage of foreign control or ownership in our science-based industries is probably even higher than that ... IRDIA and other programs make it easier for them to undertake research and development, with federal government assistance. If they do not undertake it, then it is the responsibility of their Canadian directors and management as well as of Canadian government, federal and provincial alike, to impress upon them the requirements of the Canadian interest."

From Mr. Pepin's explanation it becomes clearer why Mr. Heller, then a Liberal minister, told a U. of Toronto audience that students should not oppose the war in Vietnam because they are benefiting from it.

From the pattern seeming to emerge from all these networks there seems to be a definite interconnecting web between the military, the governments and the universities. This interrelationship is formally exposed in the composition of the D.R.B. itself. According to the National Defence Act:

"The Defence Research Board consists of a chairman and a vice-chairman, appointed by the Governor in Council, and
a) the President of the National Research Council of Canada;
b) the Deputy Minister of National Defence;
c) such members as may be appointed by the Minister, as ex officio members representing the Canadian Forces; and

Rationalization of a War Research Policy

In two instances when an administrator was confronted with the facts about a certain aspect of war research in Canada, their reactions were both similar, and predictable.

In the first instance, Ed Broadbent (M.P.-NDP) asked Trade Minister Jean Luc Pepin on December 4, 1968 about the moral implications of a military oriented research and development program funded by the Canadian government. His reply was:

- 1) "Most of the defence equipment has a civilian commercial content ... And the defence industry brings about technological programs and management technique, which are vital in industrial development. ... We now have 175 companies involved in the production of defence equipment...You dread this: I find it normal."
- 2) In effect our alignment with the U.S. through NATO obligates us to be responsible for military production and procurement.
- 3) "This system (of defence production sharing agreement with the U.S.) gives us better and less costly armaments."
- 4) "This has contributed of course to our balance of trade and payments with the United States and with the rest of the world."
- 5) "All big industrial countries do it irrespective of political or moral creed."

Ed Broadbent's reply was, "Such research, however profit-

CANADIAN CAMPUSES

cause of the perversion of science.

To the suggestion that the money presently being used to assist industry in military production be used instead for research into pollution control processes, Mr. Pepin replied to Mr. Broadbent saying, "Although the area of pollution is important, one could make a case for many other areas as well ... The companies have the final say on which area they will spend their money and the government assistant funds." Mr. Broadbent correctly replied, "That last statement speaks worlds about the manner in which the present government establishes its scale of priorities."

As for the last point made by Dr. Petch, the cover of "academic freedom" merely supports the status quo whereby a rich military can lavishly sponsor research unlike any socially necessary agency. The administration's concept of "academic freedom" in effect means that the majority, the students and professors, must allow a few researchers to work for the U.S. military and similar institutions against our will. Is the university neutral and isolated from society? Obviously not, when links such as those with a foreign military agency form an integral part of the university. In a brief presented by the University of Waterloo's administration to the Committee on University Affairs in November 1970, applied research is defined as that "which clearly states a specific problem ... The problem is specified by the sponsor and not by the research worker and progress and accomplishment are evaluated by the sponsor". Where does any concept of "academic freedom" fit into the schema where the researcher has no choice in the purpose of the project or the direction.

What is needed then is unconditional research grants to en-

able the researcher to escape the sponsor's determination of the goal and their supervision of the project. The overall research policy as well must not fall under the control of an administration or Board of Governors which presently overlooks the ongoing war research. Rather the population itself must have a say in the determination of a research policy since it is they who produce the wealth and facilities for others to carry on their research. The basis of a research policy not responsible to an institution's determination, which is opposed by the overwhelming number of students and faculty must be student-faculty and general population control over that policy. Only then will academic freedom become a reality and not a facade over the policy whereby those with money get their work done irregardless of their intent and the wishes of the university community.

The University of Waterloo's administration brief went on to say that, "it is our view that this kind of work (applied research, largely including war research) has a definite place at the University of Waterloo. We do not believe Waterloo should confine itself to 'pure' research." And (University of Waterloo) has developed only a "minor fraction" of its total research potential in the applied areas.

What has to be done then? During the 1930's and 1940's there was a movement in the U.S. of atomic scientists who attempted to educate the public about the danger of nuclear arms use and escalation. They failed but only through their inability to mobilize their constituency and the general population to bring the pressure to bear to effect some control over their

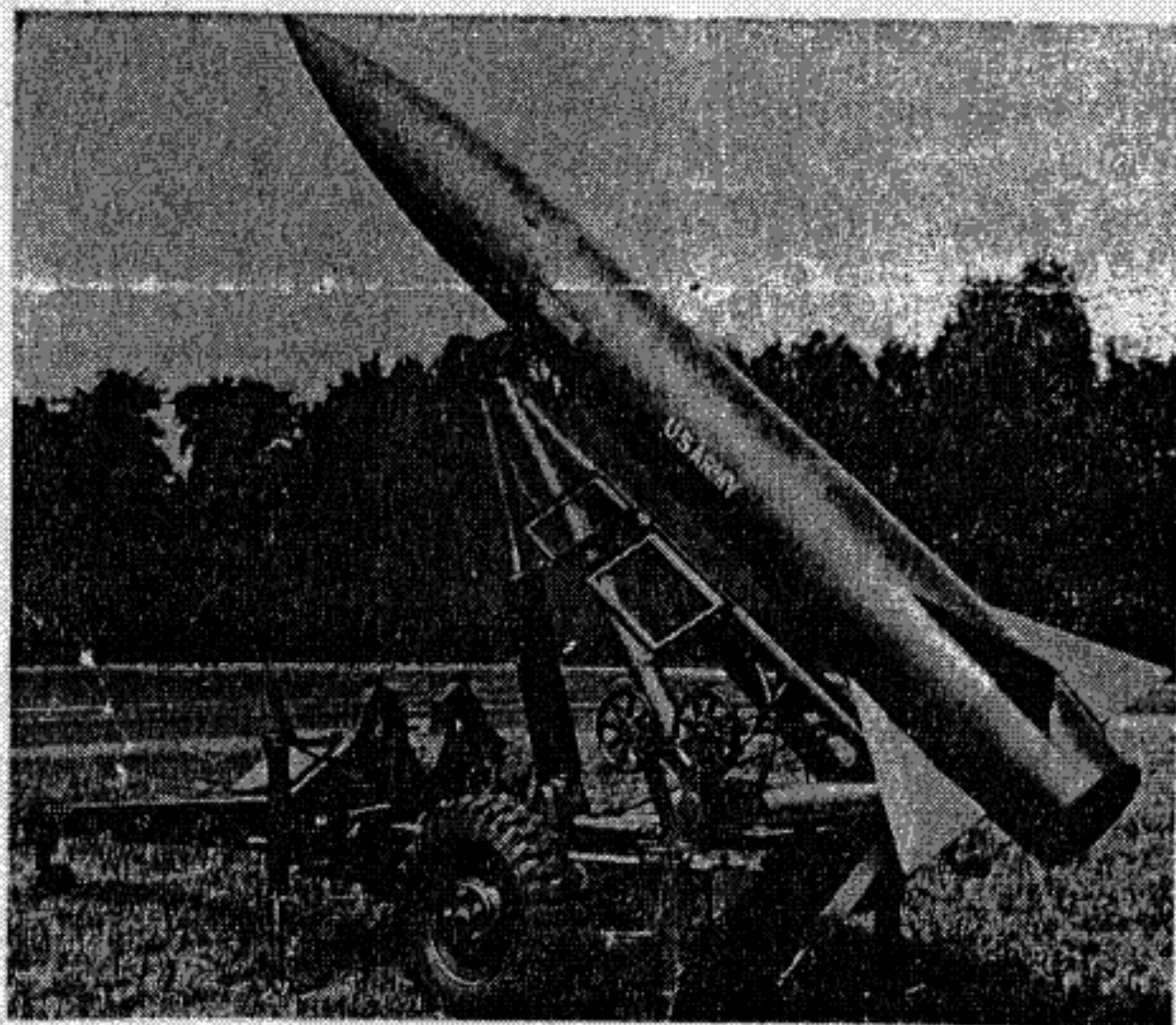
own research. We must not fail. In recent years this campaign has been reborn in the Pugwash Conferences.

What must be done and has already begun is the organizing of a cross-Canada campaign to end war research on campus. Canadian students who have already responded to the demands of ending Canada's complicity in the Indo-China war and for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indo-China will also respond to the demand of ending war research on campus and in greater numbers.



Students are continually affected by the world around them by factors such as inflationary trends and extensive youth unemployment. These factors are basically related to the expenditures and the priorities determined by the war in Indo-China. So, by necessity, students will become more aware of the world situation and the relation of their institution to the course of world politics simply because they stake their lives in the future.

by Abie Weisfeld



MADE IN CANADA, PRIMED IN U.S. One result of the Canadian government's Defense Production Sharing Agreement with the U.S. is the launcher shown above loaded with a Lance missile. The launcher, the only major component of the Lance system being produced outside the U.S. is supplied by Orenda, Ltd. of Malton, Ontario, which has received over \$2 million in government subsidies since 1965.

CONTACT US!

VICTORIA STUDENT ANTIWAR COMMITTEE:
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Victoria, B.C. 384-8405

VANCOUVER VIETNAM ACTION COMMITTEE:
1895 Venables St.,
Vancouver 6, B.C. 254-7419

EDMONTON INDOCHINA ACTION COMMITTEE:
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SASKATOON COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA:
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PRAIRIE STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE
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WINNIPEG VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE:
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SIMCOE COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM.
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Ottawa, Ont. 238-2943

COMITE QUEBECOIS CONTRE LA GUERRE EN INDOCHINE
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Montréal 131, Quebec. 279-6627

COLLECT VIETNAM;
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HALIFAX ANTIWAR COMMITTEE:
2614 Windsor St.,
Halifax, N.S. 453-4087

FREDERICTON VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE:
c/o Box 1521,
Fredericton, N.B.

ECOCIDE

by Phil Warman

"It has been a war against the land as much as against armies... the damage caused by the large-scale disorganization of the environment may well be felt for centuries." These were the conclusions of environmentalists Arthur W. Westing and E.W. Pfeiffer after their latest first-hand examination of the effects of the Indochina War. The study, published in the May issue of the *Scientific American* under the title "The Cratering of Indochina," dramatically exposes the ecological effects of massive U.S. bombing and shelling.

Of course, Canada has had no part in this ecological warfare. How could we? We signed the 1925 Geneva Protocol which prohibited the use in war of "asphyxiating, poisonous or other gasses and of all analogous liquids, materials or devices" and of "bacteriological methods of warfare." But hold on; read a little further and exercise your reasoning powers as we relate:

In 1941, Canada signified its willingness to provide a chemical and biological warfare (CBW) site and located it at Suffield, Alberta, for the purpose of providing CBW research and development for "retaliatory purposes only."

Suffield became an all-Canadian enterprise in 1946 when British financial support was ended. It was decided to maintain the base since "it had been so valuable during the war to Canada and her allies" and also because "...the need for an extensive experimental range would continue in times of peace."

The Canadian Almanac and Directory of 1962 states in the section on the Canadian CBW centre at Suffield, that "throughout 1962 the chief emphasis at Suffield was on the testing of CW munitions for Britain and the U.S."

In a statement made by David Lewis concerning Canada's role in chemical and biological warfare research in the Spring of 1969 he stated in part:

"...although the Canadian operations are of a secret nature, it is known that the United States has stockpiled huge quantities of such weapons. The simple fact that we are co-operating with the United States in such research, a country which has refused to sign the Geneva pact of 1925 outlawing the use of chemical and biological warfare,

belies the idea that such efforts are defensive.

"As we all know, defence has been used to cover all sides of all conflicts throughout the history of the world.

"Mr. Cadieux has informed me that 11% of our defence research program during the fiscal year of 1967-68 (approximately \$4 million) was used for this type of "defensive" research."

Where does Canada stand in

all this? The "official" word from Ottawa is that we are engaged only in "defence" research.

There is also a moral aspect. By collaborating with them in the research and development of these agents, we are clearly contravening the protocol. Furthermore, since Canada is a member of the ICC in Vietnam, we are supposed to be neutral, but all the world knows that we are not.

RESULTS OF SPRAYING AND POINTS TO NOTE (according to the findings of the survey team of scientists which recently visited Vietnam and reported to the A.A.A.S. — published in the *London Observer*, Jan. 3, 1971)

1. 20% of forest lands devastated
2. Enough rice to maintain 600,000 Vietnamese for one year eliminated.
3. 200,000 acres of cultivated land destroyed.
4. Fish and animal habitats (e.g. mangroves along streams) destroyed for 25 to 100 years.
5. Permanent damage to exportable resources — timber, rubber, rice. These are crucial to the country's emergence from an underdeveloped to an 'emergent' economy. When trees die the forest soil is washed away and a 'weed' bamboo takes over. Spraying has destroyed equivalent timber to supply the country's needs for over 31 years. About 1/2 a million acres of forest land sprayed since 1961 — one seventh of South Vietnam's land area. Absolute losses of plant and animal species suspected.
6. Sharp rise in incidence of congenital malformations at Saigon's children's hospital (cleft palate, spina bifida). General increase in reports of still-births and 'monsters'.

As well as collaborating in CBW research, we are supplying the U.S. with 85% of all the nickel they use. Every B-52 bomber requires about a ton of nickel. A million dollars a day in arms go to the U.S. as well as

herbicides. Of the some one million dollars' worth of defoliants used in Vietnam in 1968, the U.S. produced only one quarter. Question! Did Canada supply all or part of the other three quarters?



'Remember, only we can prevent forests'

Arthur W. Westing

Weapons That Changed the Face of Vietnam

Fire Bombing

PROJECTS "SHERWOOD FOREST" AND "PINK ROSE"

Using World War II magnesium incendiary bombs, the U.S. has tried to burn large sections of damp rain forests — unsuccessfully



Land Clearing

"DAISY CUTTER" AND "CHEESEBURGER"
A 15,000-pound concussion bomb creates helicopter landing zones by scything everything that grows in a 3-acre area

Ground Stripping

ROME PLOWS

Bulldozers with 11-foot blades have scalped 800,000 acres of forests to deny coverage to North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops

Rain Making

PROJECTS "POPEYE" AND "INTERMEDIARY COMPATRIOT"

By dropping silver iodide crystals above Vietnam, the U.S. has attempted to make it rain on the flow of troops and material from North Vietnam into the south

Defoliation

AGENTS "BLUE," "ORANGE" AND "WHITE"

Named for the color codes on their shipping drums, these herbicides have denuded 6 million acres of trees and crops—an area the size of the State of Massachusetts

China, USSR Criticised

Star Aug. 18

North Vietnam sternly told the Soviet Union and China yesterday that it will not be lured into following their path of "compromise" with "perfidious

EXERPTS FROM AN OPEN LETTER FROM THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE STUDENT UNION.

To: The progressive and justice-and-peace loving people in the United States.

We, Vietnamese students who have been imprisoned in official and secret prisons of the Saigon

imperialists' at an "epic" point in the Indo-China war... a major editorial in the official (North Vietnamese) newspaper *Nhan Dan*, implied that Russia and China, Hanoi's two major allies have succumbed to the "Machavelian policy" of "reconciliation" with "U.S. imperialists". It called Vietnam the "testing ground of revolution". To compromise now, the editorial said, when "North and South are

regime, would like to send you our best regards — that of friendship and solidarity from the common front in which we, Vietnamese youths have been struggling for our survival, national independence and self-determination; which you have actively supported by stopping your government and military-industrial complex, and hence the puppet government in Saigon from committing to further crimes.

fighting like a prodigious force" against "the enormous strength of the U.S. air and navy forces" would be "just like throwing a lifebuoy to a drowning pirate". This firm line coincides with a Radio Hanoi broadcast which said reports of a new peace formula are "only a psychological war tactic employed by Nixon against the campaign platform of the Democratic party" and are an "untenable fraud".

We believe that the friendship between American people and the South Vietnamese people, that between the Vietnamese patriotic youth and the American justice-and-peace loving youth would be deeply consolidated and lasted forever.

Chi Hoa Prison, 13/6/72
HUYNN TAN MAM
President of Saigon Student Union

CANADA

In a special issue of *BIAS*, Claire Culhane, a former Canadian medical advisor in Vietnam, exposes the nature of Canadian complicity in the Vietnam war. The Canadian government has consistently refused to make this information public. Now this information is made public in an attractive 60 page booklet for only 75 cents by writing:

IN

THE FRASER GROUP/BIAS
P.O. BOX 6255
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VANCOUVER 8, B.C.

VIETNAM

In 1945, following the ending of the Second World War with the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, the United States began its first major intervention in the oppression of the Vietnamese people. Despite the war weariness of U.S. soldiers in Europe and the Pacific, and the desire of the American people for a period of peace and rehabilitation following more than four years of war, the U.S. military command diverted the "Victory Ships" from transporting soldiers back home to transporting French soldiers to Indochina to suppress the rising struggles for national self-determination of the Vietnamese people.

In 1954 the U.S. had nuclear weapons aboard ships in the Pacific whose destination was Vietnam and the failing French Colonial war at Dien Bien Phu. But, although the U.S. would have used these atomic bombs the peasants of Vietnam, the sentiment of the U.S. people against further war, after Korea, was dangerously intense. So the U.S. government, concerned about the electorate, contented itself with military advisors and tremendous injections of war material for the Diem puppet regime.

Now, in 1972, after fighting the French, Japanese, British, and the U.S. for almost 100 years, the Vietnamese people continue to fight in the face of

the most brutal onslaught ever waged against members of the human race. With bombing the equivalent of well over 3 Hiroshima atomic bombs daily; with the technological superiority of the U.S. war machine set for total annihilation, the Vietnamese refuse to fall. Their resistance, especially the victories they have won in the latest offensives which exposed the lies of "Vietnamization" and "winding down" the war, and this determination to fight for their independence and lives has given inspiration to the struggles for freedom throughout the world.

But the Vietnamese cannot stop the U.S. by themselves, no matter how valiant they undoubtedly are, rather, it is only in concert with their most loyal allies, in the International Antiwar Movement, that they can hope to stop the aggression of the Nixon war machine. It is the independent antiwar movements who have held back further aggressions of the war criminals in the White House, who have sabotaged the morale of the U.S. ground forces; who have prevented the Canadian ally in Ottawa from committing "peace keeping" forces to Vietnam for the U.S., and who forced the Australian and New Zealand allies of Nixon to withdraw troops from the conflict.

The history of the struggle of the Vietnamese, and the experience of the antiwar movement

show us the way to end this inhuman and genocidal war of the U.S.. By any means necessary, we must build the broadest possible antiwar movement in Canada. This means a democratic, nonexclusionary movement dedicated to one main objective — U.S. OUT NOW! And we must bring this movement, with people of all shades of political, humanist, or social position into the streets with mass, peaceful, legal demonstrations against the war. This way has continually proven to be the most effective in obtaining the goal we are seeking — self-determination for the Vietnamese.

Students are the most important part of the International Antiwar Movement. Why? It is students, first from the universities and colleges and then from the high schools and junior highs, who come into the streets in the millions militantly demanding an immediate and unconditional end to all U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. And, it is students who lead the movement in struggle against the lying, criminal government of the U.S.

Students have also played an important role in broadening antiwar sentiment throughout society. From a minority in the schools, the student antiwar movement won over the majority of students to opposition to the war, in some cases (May, 1970 in the U.S. around Kent and Jackson — Cambodian invasion; May

1972 student strikes over the mining and blockading of the ports of Vietnam, Amchitka protest in Canada) taking over the facilities of the schools and putting whole institutions at the service of the struggle against the war. And when we leave the schools and universities for jobs, professions or even the armed forces, we spread the knowledge of the war and the sentiment of protest to convert even more people to the side of the Vietnamese.

The student antiwar movement is recognized as the present base and foundation for the worldwide antiwar movement. It is up to every single individual who opposes the slaughter of innocent people defending themselves from U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia, to join and build the one movement which is committed to stopping that war. On many campuses and in some high schools across Canada, there are clubs or committees which work towards ending Canada's complicity in Vietnam, and the U.S. war. And these Student Mobilization Committees, or antiwar clubs, need the active support and participation of every student, professor, teacher, administrator, and worker. They are doing something about ending the war. What will you do?

A cross-Canada conference of the student antiwar movement has been proposed for this fall. It will be open to everyone,

without exception, who opposes the U.S. war in Southeast Asia, and who wants an immediate end to Canada's complicity and U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Proposals for actions, for direction, or even organization will be published and distributed by the Ontario SMC and the V.M.C. (Vietnam Mobilization Committee) in the MOBILIZER prior to the conference so that everyone can discuss the future and needs of the antiwar movement, to be decided by a one-person, one-vote open conference.

While the U.S. is bombing the dikes and dams of the Vietnamese Tonkin Plain, the most fertile rice producing area and heavily populated region of Southeast Asia, the antiwar movement is gearing itself up for a major escalation of protest. The possibility of death to more than 3 million people looms before us with the destruction of the flood control system through a completely intentional act by the U.S. war machine. We cannot wait to prepare and build the movement against this war, it must be done now and continued until the U.S. is forced to get out of all of Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese continue their burden of struggle, we must hold up our end of the responsibility to defend them.

U.S. OUT NOW! BREAK CANADA FROM THE U.S. WAR MACHINE! STOP BOMBING THE DIKES!!

VIETNAMESE, ON DIKES

Exerpts from a statement by Minister XUAN THUY, Chief of the Delegation of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, at the 150th Plenary Session of the Paris Conference on Vietnam. July 13, 1972

Over the recent period, after unilaterally breaking the Paris Conference, since May 4, 1972, the U.S. has intensified and expanded the war for genocide purposes in the two zones of Vietnam. In South Vietnam, besides the B.52 bombing raids levelling whole regions, toxic gas has been used to kill all living creatures. In North Vietnam, the U.S. has blockaded the harbours with mines and resumed the bombardments. The U.S. air forces, including B.52 bombers, have indiscriminately and contin-

uously attacked cities, towns, and densely populated areas of many provinces, out of them Hanoi and Haiphong, causing thousands of dead and wounded among the civilian population, destroying economic and cultural installations sparing no hospitals, schools, factories, churches and pagodas. What is more serious, U.S. planes have deliberately and methodically hit the systems of dikes, damaging dozens of crucial portions of dikes and numerous water conservancy works, with the wicked scheme of provoking floods in North Viet Nam when the flood season comes. In spite of the U.S. authorities' denials, the fact has become clear. The whole world is indignantly condemning this extremely inhumane escalation of the war by the U.S. in Vietnam.

Of course, the Vietnamese people in both zones have dealt deserved return blows at the warmongers. It is clear to everyone that the U.S. escalation of the war has further strengthened the Vietnamese people's cohesion in struggle and determination to reach their fundamental objectives. The continuation of the war will cause more human and material losses to the U.S. and create new obstacles to the peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem.

Repeating the conditions put forward on May 8, 1972, Mr. Nixon said that, in return for the total withdrawal of U.S. forces within four months and the cessation of all U.S. military activities, the Vietnamese people must accept a cease-fire and release the "prisoners of war". Such a demand means that the

U.S. will continue to maintain its neo-colonialist regime in South Vietnam while the Vietnamese people will have to give up their struggle for independence and freedom! How can we call this serious negotiations?

It should be underlined that in October 1968, the U.S. Government pledged itself to completely and unconditionally cease its bombardments and all other acts of war against the D.R.V.N. The Nixon Administration has the responsibility to honour this engagement, to immediately stop the mining of North Vietnam's ports and the bombing of its territory. It should be also underlined that the civilized world will not tolerate barbarities; the Nixon Administration should immediately stop all its genocide acts of war.

QUOTATIONS ON DIKES

Jane Fonda: "The dike in many places has been cut in half and there are huge fissures running across the top of it"...

Ramsey Clark: "If the American people knew what we have done with bombs and technology against life, against children, women, and men, they would end the war, the bombings and withdraw our troops..."

Canadian Council of Churches: "The destruction of the dikes ... carries the risk of a mammoth human disaster through flooding and starvation... no strategic consideration could possibly justify such damage to an entire people..."

Pierre Trudeau: PM of Canada, "... no comment..."

THE MOVEMENT OVER THE SUMMER

Vancouver: The Vietnam Action Committee presented a Hiroshima Day peace festival to commemorate the 300,000 victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki 27 years ago and to call for an end to the Vietnam war Aug. 5. There was an impressive turnout of 1500 people, various bands and speakers on the war; speakers including Phyllis Young of the B.C. Federation of Labour, Hilda Thomas NDP candidate for Point Grey riding, Dr. Bill Willmott of the UBC Asian Studies Department, Ken Pattern, Manager of SPEC (Canadian Scientific Pollution and Environmental Control Society), and Bob Sims, Chairperson of the Vietnam Action Committee.

Ottawa: 1200 people commemorating Hiroshima day participated in an action against the war Aug. 5. Two of the speakers present were Claire Culhane, the medical advisor at a Canadian anti-tuberculosis hospital in South Vietnam who returned to protest against Canada's complicity, and Sara Johnston from the American anti-war movement coalition, NPAC.

Suffield, Alberta: On the July 1 - 2 Dominion Day weekend, more than one hundred people, representing groups from Toronto to Vancouver, rallied in Medicine Hat and Suffield, Alberta to protest the real face of the Trudeau government: the chemical and biological warfare researcher "par excellence" and provider of sandboxes for the British tank corps to play in. The rallies, which included a number of local people were organized by the Edmonton Suffield Coalition around the slogan of "End military training and research at Suffield".

The first rally, held in Medicine Hat July 1, heard speeches by Dave Poholko, Chairman of the Edmonton Suffield Coalition; Bob Sims, a repres-

entative from the Vancouver Suffield Coalition; which organized a support demonstration of 150 in Vancouver on June 28; and Sean Keane from Belfast, Ireland, representing the Irish Republican Clubs.

A second rally, July 2, was held outside the gates of the Canadian Forces Base Suffield. The rally was addressed by Larry MacKillop, a vice-president of the Alberta New Democratic Party; Sharon Romauld from the Toronto Vietnam Mobilization Committee; Dave Roles of the Edmonton Defenders and Wardens of Nature; Mark Priegert for the Young Socialists and League for Socialist Action; Sean Keane, who revealed some interesting facts about Canadiana investments in Northern Ireland; Larry Panchy from the Prairie Student Mobilization Committee; and Bill MacDonald, president of Local 15 of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada. Labour support for the action was particularly significant.

The broadness of the speakers platform and the lists of groups who support the Suffield Coalition attests to the wide support that can be built for the antiwar movement's

demand to "End Canada's Complicity" if blatant examples of that complicity like the Suffield base are made the focal point of the campaign. July 1 - 2 was only the beginning. (By Dave Poholko)

Peterborough, Ont.: The Peterborough Committee Against the War in Vietnam is a newly formed antiwar coalition which is campaigning for the withdrawal of U.S. personnel from Vietnam and the break of Canada from the U.S. war machine. June 14 the committee held an action at the U.S. offices in Peterborough which included 150 people calling for an end to Canada's complicity.

Toronto: Throughout the summer VMC has been active and held an antiwar festival which included over 200 people as well as mobilizing around the Hiroshima-Nagasaki Days of protest.

Guelph: An antiwar film festival was held June 13 with over 50 people in attendance. B.N. Duong, a member of the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in Canada, spoke to the

group telling of the need for students to organize against the war.

Waterloo, Ont.: As a continuation of the campaign begun by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee on the University of Waterloo against war-related research, the community VMC held an action July 22 to protest the production of war material in the area. In conjunction with the VMC the local Quaker group held a silent vigil prior to the VMC action of 30 people. The protests were held at the Marsland Centre building. The Marsland Corp. produces bomb fuses and electronic amplifiers for

the U.S. military. The 50 people present had the support of a broad range of sponsors including, Bonnie Day, member of the Peace Committee of the Kitchener Society of Friends (Quakers); Laural Fischer, chairperson of the K-W Woman's Coalition for Repeal of the Abortion Laws; Tom Baker, editor of the Ontario, University of Guelph paper and Terry Moore, president of the Federation of Students, University of Waterloo.

Cross-country STUDENT ANTIWAR CONFERENCE

NOV 4 & 5

STOP THE WAR
IN S.E. ASIA

WAR
PROFITS
PEOPLE

BLAST
NIXON
NOT
RIGHT KA

US
OUT
NOW

Stop
Able

STOP
AMERICA

U.O.F.S.
STUDENT UNION

Stop
Able

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TIMES AND ACCOMODATIONS, CONTACT
YOUR LOCAL ANTIWAR COMMITTEE.

STOP the GENOCIDE in VIETNAM!

**cross-canada student
action conference
university of toronto
nov. 4-5**

Guest Speakers:

BOBBY SEALE

:co-founder of the Black Panthers,
member of steering committee of
National Peace Action Coalition
(US antiwar movement)

GABRIEL KOLKO

:York U. author of *Roots of
American Foreign Policy*

TRAN THIEU

:Vietnamese Patriots

CLAIRE CULHANE

:former nurse in Vietnam, author
of several pamphlets on the war

JAMES STEELE

:Carleton U. author of *Rationale
for War in Vietnam* and other
material on Canada's complicity

FRED LOUGREN

:National Coordinator of the
Student Mobilization Committee
in the US

**U.S. OUT OF S.E. ASIA NOW!
END CANADA'S COMPLICITY!
VIETNAM FOR THE VIETNAMESE!**

Contact SMC c/o Ryerson Student Union,

Jorgenson Hall, 380 Victoria St.

Toronto, 2.

OR:

YORK U. COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN ASIA

RM. N 109

YORK UNIVERSITY, DOWNSVIEW, ONT.

TEL: 353-3532

smc student mobilization committee to end
the war in southeast asia

**NO CANADIAN TROOPS
TO VIETNAM!**

**Demonstrate
Nov. 18**



**Self-determination
for Vietnam**

**assemble-holy trinity church- 11:30 am
march- 1:30**

rally-city hall- 2:30

**vietnam mobilization committee
241 Victoria St. Toronto 2 (416) 863-0494.**

U.S. bombing exposes 'Vietnamization'

by John Wilson

Nixon's massive escalation of the murderous air war against North Vietnam has confirmed what many have been reluctant to believe: that Washington is continuing to seek a military victory in Indochina. The real meaning of "Vietnamization" is defeat of the Vietnamese revolution and stabilization of a pro-imperialist regime in Saigon.

Beginning on Dec. 26, 350 U.S. planes flew 1000 sorties in three days over the North, bombing within 80 miles of Hanoi. These were by far the heaviest bombing attacks since President Johnson supposedly ended the bombing in 1968.

Pentagon officials claim that this saturation bombing was to be of "limited duration." But Defense Secretary Laird has refused to place any limit on further attacks.

While Nixon has achieved something of a lull in the antiwar movement recently by giving vast publicity to troop withdrawals and at the same time playing down his continual escalation of the bombing, this latest massive attack has in contrast been carried out with large fanfare.

What does this mean? U.S. imperialism hardly has the option, in this election year, of reversing troop withdrawals and engaging in increased ground attacks, if only because this would irretrievably expose "Vietnamization" and "winding down" of the war for the utter fraud that it is.

According to Fred Branfman, a director of Project Air War (a U.S. research organization) writing in the Jan. 2 New York Times, all signs point onomously to the conclusion

that the U.S. rulers are testing public opinion to see how far they can go and get away with it. Unless checked by mass opposition, they may well be prepared to level Hanoi and Haiphong, mine Haiphong Harbor and possibly even bomb the North's system of dikes, he said.

The U.S. claims that the latest raids were in "retaliation" for alleged Vietnamese attacks, aimed at anti-aircraft and other military targets, but most of the bombing tonnage consisted of anti-personnel bombs, most of which are incapable of destroying vehicles and buildings, but which are very efficient in slaughtering people. This confirms North Vietnamese reports that the recent attacks came in "wave after wave" on densely populated areas, resulting in heavy civilian casualties.

And while the U.S. claims to be ending its use of ecology-destroying chemical defoliants, it has other weapons that do the job just as well. Dec. 28 two scientists revealed the use of a radial concussion bomb that kills all forms of life within a radius of 3,280 feet, literally levelling everything within that area to the ground.

The temptation of the imperialists to mount even more monstrous attacks must also be viewed as a reaction to recent victories of national liberation forces in Laos and Cambodia. Moreover 1971 saw the biggest loss of U.S. airplanes since 1968.

The centerpiece in Nixon's attempt to defuse antiwar sentiment is the saturation publicity of his maneuvering with the People's



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Republic of China and the U.S. president's impending visit to Peking. It is of great concern that Nixon's latest outrages in Indochina have been met with only perfunctory response by the Maoist leaders.

All of this underscores the crucial necessity for the antiwar movement to continue to mobilize all its resources to press for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia and an end to the Trudeau government's complicity in the war.

It further underscores the importance of the four cross-country regional conferences set by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee for Feb. 5-6 to discuss the call from the U.S. movement for international actions April 22.

For further information on these conferences contact: Vietnam Mobilization Committee, 241 Victoria St., Toronto 2, Ontario.

From the editors:

Nixon 'peace' plan means more war

With customary hypocrisy President Nixon announced on Jan. 25 a "new peace proposal" to end the Indochina war. The proposal contains nothing new. Nor has it the remotest connection with peace.

Nixon was reporting on a series of proposals made by the U.S. to the Vietnamese in Paris last August. The Vietnamese had rejected them, and with good reason. The proposals would leave the corrupt military dictatorship of Thieu in power in Saigon.

Nixon's proposal would keep U.S. forces in South Vietnam until six months after a "political settlement" could be achieved through elections. Judging from other elections under U.S. and Saigon supervision, could such "elections" be anything but a complete fraud? Moreover, the proposal dealt only with Vietnam, leaving the door open to continued U.S. intervention and aggression in other parts of Indochina.

Nixon's announced proposals are just the latest gimmick in his continuing attempt to divert public attention away from his real war aims.

Nixon is not "winding down" the war. He is still seeking a military victory in Indochina. But he needs time.

Through lowering the level of ground combat and hence American casualties (though civilian casualties are soaring due to the escalation of the bombing), Nixon is trying to keep the war quiet until he is re-elected and in a position to carry on the war for another four years.

Nixon's central maneuver to delude the people of America and the world into believing that the war is all but over is his trip to Peking next month. Washington officials and commentators have expressed hopes that the Chinese leadership will put pressure on the Indochinese to come to a settlement on U.S. terms. Already Peking has offered some substance to these hopes, in failing to launch a serious protest against the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam in late December.

But there are obstacles in Nixon's course. A new offensive by

revolutionary forces is developing in Indochina.

Liberation forces have captured important bases on the Plaine des Jarres and elsewhere in Laos, dealing a blow to the faltering Laotian colonial army.

The military dictator of Cambodia, Lon Nol, suffered his biggest defeats to date in December. The desertion of an entire brigade of 2,400 troops on Jan. 11 indicates the present condition of his army.

And in South Vietnam, U.S. and Saigon troops are digging in, preparing for an expected offensive from guerrilla forces. The National Liberation Front is reported to be openly collecting taxes only 50 miles from Saigon.

Only the devastating U.S. bombing day after day is saving the puppet regimes from total collapse.

And Nixon still has to contend with the American people, whose antiwar sentiment is powerfully expressed through the mass actions of the antiwar movement. The National Peace Action Coalition has answered Nixon's maneuvers with a call for worldwide demonstrations on April 22 for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and materiel from Southeast Asia.

The NPAC call will doubtless be taken up at the antiwar action conferences slated for Feb. 5-6 in four Canadian regions. The conferences will lay plans to mobilize Canadians against the war and the Trudeau government's complicity in it.

The necessity to launch actions on university campuses against war research has been underlined by the publication of a report by the Canadian University Press. The conferences must establish student mobilization committees to organize the student base of the antiwar movement in a campaign to break the universities from their service to the war machine.

Other actions might focus on questions like arms sales to the U.S. under the Defense Production Sharing Agreement. The costly implications of this agreement were recently underscored by the revelations that Canada would probably have to buy \$500 million of U.S.-produced military hardware — to help Washington correct its balance of payments problems caused by its aggression in Vietnam!

Such actions can expose the Trudeau government at a vulnerable point — its craven support and ties to U.S. imperialism.

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Challenge

Ottawa backs war research on campus

by John Wilson

Probably few people are aware of just how big a business producing for war has become in Canada. In 1970, this country exported over \$1-million a day — \$400 million, to be exact — in military hardware. During the past 12 years, Canada has become the world's fifth largest arms exporter and spends more, per capita, on "defense research" projects than the United States.

Even fewer are aware of the vital role that Canadian universities have played and continue to play in the U.S.-Canadian war machine. This is extensively revealed in a series of articles on campus war research by Ian Wiseman recently released by the Canadian University Press.

Two of the three articles have been published to this point in student newspapers across Canada.

They reveal that war research projects are taking place on every university campus with an enrolment of over 2,500 students. These projects, 36 in all in 1970, run the gamut from engineering, aerodynamics and psychology to chemical, bacteriological and atomic research. They are largely financed by the Defense Research Board (DRB), a civilian agency of the Department of National Defense.

Aside from its renown in aircraft design and manufacturing, Wiseman reports, Canada is internationally recognized as a expert in the grisly business of chemical and bacteriological warfare. Canadian research has already supplied defoliants and "non-lethal" gases employed in Indochina. Studies related to this field are current at McGill and the University of Ottawa.

Since its inception in 1947, DRB

has spent \$40 million on research on Canadian campuses and another \$10 million on contracting. "Contracting" is the term used when DRB binds the scientist or research body involved to come across with a particular design or item for production.

DRB also gives annual grants to specific scientific institutes within universities. It funded the establishment of the University of Toronto's Institute of Aerospace Studies back in 1951 and gave direct grants totalling \$2.3-million up to 1968.

This is not surprising. Most of the millions in Canadian arms sales comes from the aircraft industry. Consequently aerospace technology and aviation is the single largest field of study.

DRB's research is highly profitable. Wiseman reports that "for every dollar they have spent on research, they are netting about \$25 in arms sales."

DRB's function in coordinating business, government and the universities is reflected in its composition — government representatives, top university administrators and corporation officials.

The universities, of course, claim they are largely ignorant of the end result of their DRB projects. Their end of the research is basic scientific investigation, while the further development and refinement is normally carried on by DRB's own institutes or by private corporations.

"But," he says, "there is no mistaking the universities' complicity in Canada's massive war machine. They willingly do the spadework for all the defense projects in this country and they supply the necessary resources,

human and technological, for the efficient running of the machine."

The study starkly exposes the role of the university as a servant of Big Business. Even non-war-oriented research, far from being carried on to fulfil the needs and aspirations of the working people who pay for it, is largely directed toward narrow projects designed, in the long run, to increase corporation profits.

Yet only this month, the Senate Special Committee on Science Policy was led to issue a statement decrying the lack of pure scientific research — that is, research with no direct relation to immediate needs of business or industry — being conducted on Canadian campuses.

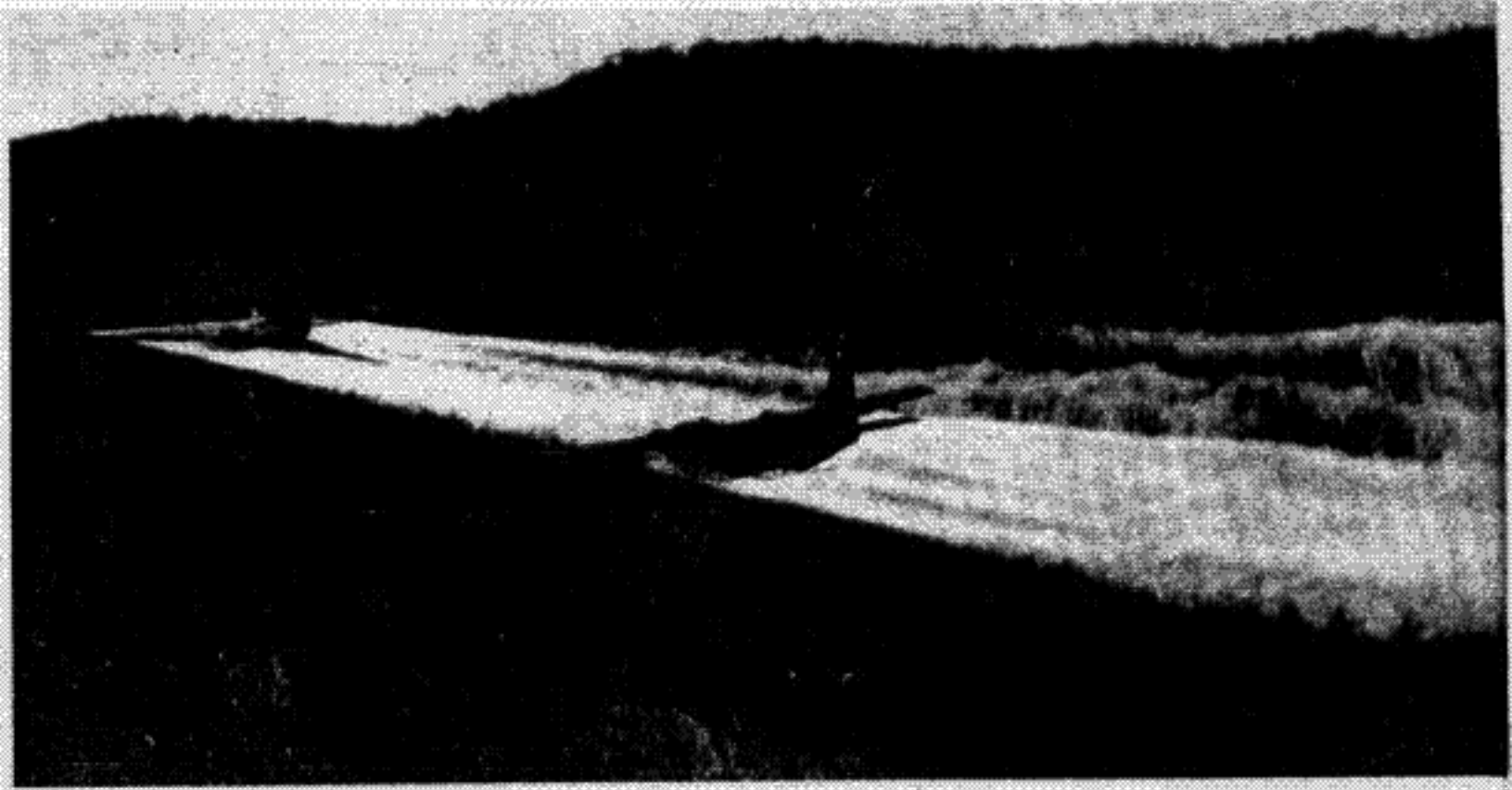
Wiseman's study (in the two parts published to this point) is very useful and amply substantiates Canada's direct material complicity, especially that of the universities, in the Indochina war. But more remains to be done. So far, at least, the report does not take up the considerable number of war research grants given directly by the U.S. government to Canadian universities. For example, in 1969 the University of Toronto alone was working on projects for the U.S. armed forces entailing grants of over \$1,301,000. (Congressional Record — Senate, May 1, 1969.)

The CUP report's findings will give added impetus to the antiwar movement's campaign against Canadian complicity in Southeast Asia and the objective of transforming the campuses into antiwar universities. In face, the persistent anti-complicity campaign of the antiwar movement, and the publication of this report can hardly be coincidental.

This again underlines the importance of the regional conferences called by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee Feb. 5-6 to plan a major spring offensive.

POISON FROM CANADA. U.S. planes plunge into Cambodia spewing defoliants, many of

which are researched in Canadian universities with government funds.



Science at service of war

The following are some of the projects being financed by the Defence Research Board on Canadian campuses, as reported in the Canadian University Press series on war research:

— **Chemistry.** The main trends of research in this field are toward fluorine compounds, nitrogen compounds, and the effects of shock waves on various chemicals. Radiation chemistry is being studied at Memorial University, University of Alberta and University of Waterloo.

— **Entomology.** New poisons are being developed and their effects on "insects of military importance" are being studied. Insects are more valuable as carriers of viruses than as guinea pigs for the same viruses. New pesticides are being studied at the University of Alberta; control of cluster flies is under study at Western Ontario and McGill.

— **Bacteriology.** Research projects include a study of bacteria under physical stress (McGill) and identification studies of virus agents (U of Ottawa).

— **Human Resources.** Among the more interesting projects are studies pertaining to the leadership process (Royal Military College), punishment capability (McMaster) and the effects of reward on performance (Carleton).

— **Medicine.** DRB does extensive medical research on many universities, the most notable being York University and the University of Toronto which is a major recipient of defence money. Under study are toxicology, radiation effects, Arctic medicine, underwater medicine, and aviation medicine.

— **Engineering.** Studies are being carried out on ship hulls, airplane metal fatigue, various stresses and corrosions of materials as well as bombs and rockets.

— **Special Studies.** The two big fields here are lasers (DRB is internationally recognized as a leader in laser research) and the interrelations of plasma and fluid dynamics (this has application to space research among other things).

Launch antiwar campaign

by Carl Fleming

The spring antiwar offensive was launched Feb. 5-6 when regional conferences set April 22 — the next international day of protest chosen by the U.S. antiwar movement — as the date for mass demonstrations across Canada. The peace actions will demand immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces and materiel from Southeast Asia and an end to Canada's complicity in the war.

The focus of the April 22 actions will be a "Peace Train," carrying demonstrators from Southern Ontario to a rally in Ottawa where the Trudeau government will be challenged to break its ties with the U.S. war machine and its aggression against the people of Indochina.

The conferences were the largest in some time (Vancouver, 125; Saskatoon 88; Toronto 150) and included many of the new young activists who joined the antiwar movement from the experiences of the protests against Nixon's Amchitka nuclear blast last fall.

Student meetings held in conjunction with the conferences in Saskatoon and Toronto established Student Mobilization Committees on a regional basis. March 29 was set as a student day of protest, to culminate a drive to expose and rid the university campuses of war research.

The Saskatoon conference called a prairie-wide demonstration in Suffield, Alberta, site of the Canadian government's chemical and biological warfare research center, sometime during the summer. The action will coincide with British troop training exercises there.

Under the pressure of Nixon's "peace plan" demagogy, forces which have in the past challenged the established program and thrust of the antiwar movement, projected their own proposals at the Toronto and Vancouver conferences.

In Vancouver, featured speaker Robert Scheer, editor of Ramparts magazine and a former Democratic party "peace" candidate in California, together with some elements around Ace Hollibaugh, president-elect of the Simon Fraser students association, proposed that the movement drop its demand for immediate withdrawal and substitute the seven-point peace proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam which calls on the U.S. to set a date for withdrawal.

Scheer further proposed that the

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focus for action should be the "Evict Nixon" multi-issue action planned for the San Diego Republican convention next summer.

Following a lengthy debate, the Vancouver conference decisively rejected the "Evict Nixon" action, which would have made the Canadian antiwar movement nothing but a lobbying force in the U.S. elections. The conference reaffirmed the demands "Out Now" and "End Canada's Complicity" as the main demands of the movement.

Prof. Bill Willmott, a leading activist in the Vietnam Action Committee, said "I disagree with the idea that we have to defeat imperialism on a world scale before the people of Indochina can win self-

determination. In my view we must begin with Indochina. We must defeat U.S. aggression there and by that means weaken U.S. imperialism on a world-wide scale."

The Toronto conference was confronted with an action proposal from Gordon Massie of the Communist Party, which, while posing no concrete actions for the antiwar movement, wanted to make the PRG's seven-point proposal a major demand of the antiwar movement.

The conference rejected the Massie proposal and adopted an action proposal for the April 22 March on Ottawa put forward by George Addison, outgoing executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

The overwhelming majority of those in attendance felt that while the Vietnamese right to put forward any program or demands they feel are necessary must be defended, the main thrust of the activity of the antiwar movement must be to mobilize people around demands that give nothing to the U.S. claims that it has some right to be in Indochina. In this light, adoption of the demand to "set the date" for withdrawal would compromise the clear, unequivocal demand the movement puts to the U.S. government — Out Now!

Particularly important was the



establishment of Student Mobilization Committees to organize the campaign against war research on the campuses, and fight for the democratic right to organization and education against the war in the high schools.

Another feature was the identification of the NDP and trade union leadership with the conferences. Bey Dyck, MLA, was delegated by Premier Alan Blakeney to speak at the Saskatoon conference on behalf of the NDP government. David Lewis, federal leader of the NDP, sent a solidarity telegram to the Toronto conference.

Dennis McDermott, Canadian director of the ~~United~~ Auto Workers, told the Toronto conference that labor movement must play a bigger role in the antiwar movement. "There is now in the labor movement an increasing awareness that you can't be a domestic radical and cop out of the international scene — or the reverse, be an internationalist radical and fail to do anything about Canada's complicity."

War escalates while Peking greet's Nixon

by George Addison

Television viewers in the West are watching U.S. president Nixon's eight-day trip to Peking, live and in color. The cameras follow the Nixon party as they see all the sights of China.

But there will be no broadcast of the meeting between the head of U.S. imperialism and the leading figures of the Chinese bureaucracy, Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai. That part of the trip will be totally secret.

What can the tourist be expected to bring home with him? And how generous will his Maoist hosts be?

Nixon's trip, while it undoubtedly will be made use of in the 1972 U.S. presidential election, is primarily designed to establish a political relationship with the Mao bureaucracy — a relationship Nixon hopes will aid him on the international plane.

The number one item on Nixon's shopping list is the Indochina war. It has been his primary headache since he took office and, for U.S. imperialism over the past decade. Facing heroic resistance by the Vietnamese people and powerful mass actions of the antiwar movement in the U.S. itself, Nixon has to stall for time.

Nixon's long-term objectives include defeating and "rolling back" the Korean, Vietnamese and Chinese revolutions. But

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Continued from page 1 this perspective has to be postponed at present, until a more favorable time.

Now Nixon wants to achieve some kind of political settlement of the war that will stall the revolutionary struggle and maintain U.S. presence in Indochina.

The president summarized his hopes in a toast he presented to Chou En-lai Feb. 21: "We have at times in the past been enemies, we have great differences today. What brings us together is that we have common interests which transcend these differences." Nixon asked the Chinese leaders to join him in a "long march toward peace."

The Chinese did not invite Nixon to Peking to exchange pleasantries, or to help him get re-elected. What "common interests" does Mao have with Nixon?

The ruling bureaucrats are out to stabilize and maintain their own power in China. Rather than promoting and aiding revolution internationally, the Maoists instead maneuver between various capitalist states for diplomatic advantage. Thus in the name of "peaceful coexistence," China has feted such reactionaries as Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and the Pakistani butcher Yahya Khan (through whom Nixon aide Henry

Kissinger's original Peking visit was arranged).

The kind of deal the Maoists may be interested in was hinted at by Chou En-lai in a conversation with Australian labor party leader Gough Whitlam last July. Chou told Whitlam that the Chinese would be willing to participate in a new Geneva conference on Indochina.

The activities of the Chinese rulers at the last Geneva conference in 1954 were described by Dick Roberts in the Feb. 18 issue of the American socialist weekly *The Militant*. They are described in the *Pentagon Papers*, as published by the U.S. House Armed Services Committee (and not the edited version published by the *New York Times*, which omits such references to Moscow or Peking):

"Viet Minh ambitions were thwarted not so much by Western resistance or treachery, as by Sino-Soviet pressures on them to cooperate ... Together and separately, Moscow and Peking pressured concessions on the Viet Minh.

"Invariably," the Pentagon analyst continued, "the two principal communist delegates, Chou En-lai and Molotov, played major roles in breaking deadlocks with conciliatory initiatives ... 'Peaceful coexistence' was the hallmark of

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NIXON AND CHOU EN-LAI

their diplomacy ... The two big communist powers did not hesitate in asserting the paramountcy of their interests over those of the Viet Minh."

The 1954 Geneva Accords brought about the division of Vietnam, and the disarming of the revolutionaries. They enabled the U.S. to secure a military base in Vietnam, something the French had been unable to gain militarily in the long war against the Viet Minh freedom fighters.

In 1962, China accepted an arrangement in Laos whereby a "neutral" coalition government was established, and U.S. troops were withdrawn, only to return as "advisers" in civilian clothing.

Nixon wants Chairman Mao to bring pressure on Hanoi to reach a settlement of the war that will redivide Indochina and leave the imperialists their foothold in Saigon.

What stands in the way of such a deal? The Vietnamese have seen what happens when imperialism is allowed to retain a presence in their country. Hanoi has criticized any imposition of terms in Indochina from the first announcement of Nixon's Peking expedition.

Moreover, the antiwar movement can help relieve the pressure on the Vietnamese by continuing its mass actions for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

Antiwar movement mobilizes for April 22

Regional conferences across Canada on Feb. 5-6 called for mass demonstrations against the Indochina war April 22. A Student Day of Protest was called for March 29. Activities to build these actions are underway across Canada.

— The York University Committee to End the War in Asia has scored an important victory against war research on that campus. Under pressure from the committee, York president David Slater and the Senate have moved to make public the details of all research projects four times a year.

The committee is continuing its fight to rid the campus of all war research, and to make the university a base for opposition to the war and Canada's complicity.

— The Vietnam Mobilization Committee has called a demonstration in Toronto March 1 to confront Trudeau for his government's complicity in the war. Trudeau will be in Toronto to ad-

dress a Liberal party fundraising dinner at the Royal York Hotel.

Barry Weisberg, author of "Ecocide in Indochina" and a prominent U.S. environmentalist and war critic made a successful speaking tour of the Vancouver area Feb. 4-6. His tour included talks on three university campuses and at two high schools as well as a feature speech at the regional antiwar conference. Sponsor of the tour was the Vietnam Action Committee.

The World Assembly for the Peace and Independence of the Peoples of Indochina, held in Paris Feb. 11-13 endorsed worldwide actions for April 22. More than 1200 delegates from 84 countries around the world attended the conference, which called for concerted international actions to end the war. The call for demonstrations on April 22 from the National Peace Action Coalition in the U.S. was endorsed along with a number of other spring actions.



BIGGEST BOMB ATTACKS SINCE 1968. For four days prior to the Tet ceasefire Feb. 14, U.S. bombers conducted the heaviest attacks on South Vietnam since 1968. The Canadian and worldwide antiwar movement is responding with a spring antiwar campaign, to culminate in mass demonstrations April 22.

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Out of NATO, NORAD!

The Trudeau government will maintain Canada's membership in the nuclear-armed North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and North American Air Defense agreement (NORAD), newly-appointed defense minister Edgar Benson told the Commons Defense committee Feb. 29. The NORAD pact between Ottawa and Washington comes up for renewal next year. Canada's membership in NATO was reaffirmed in 1969.

Is Benson's statement part payment toward a settlement of trade policy differences with Washington? As a result of long-standing secret "defense production sharing" agreements related to NATO and NORAD, Canada has been pressured recently to buy hundreds of millions of dollars worth of U.S. military aircraft, to balance a payments surplus accumulated through arms sales to the U.S. for Vietnam.

The decision to stay in the alliances certainly isn't part of an anti-inflation program: in the same report to the Commons committee, Benson announced he was lifting the three-year freeze on the defense department budget, jacking up military spending by 7 percent during the next year to 1.942 billion dollars. Freeze workers' wages, maybe — but not the profits of military contractors!

Benson's announcement comes on the heels of recent revelations of the extensive government-funded war research on university campuses, much of it under specific NATO-NORAD projects. There are growing protests against the exercises by British troops slated for Suffield, Alta. this summer, again under a secret NATO agreement. The Pentagon papers confirmed Canada's role as diplomatic spear-carrier for the U.S. State Department in Vietnam — a role which NATO-NORAD membership binds it to.

The challenge is clear: Benson's announcement must be strongly protested. The New Democratic Party committed by convention resolutions to oppose Canada's continued membership in NATO and NORAD, must make this an election issue.

The most effective way to begin the campaign is for the NDP to throw its forces behind the April 22 mobilizations against the war in Indochina. A key demand of those protests will be that Canada break from the U.S. war machine by withdrawing now from these imperialist alliances.

Confront Nixon in Ottawa

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto has announced that it will organize a massive demonstration in Ottawa April 15, to confront U.S. president Richard Nixon when he visits Canada.

The VMC is renting a "Peace Train" to carry hundreds of demonstrators to Ottawa to demand immediate U.S. withdrawal from Indochina and an end to Canada's complicity in the war.

"Although the media has consistently played up the myth that the war is winding down," said VMC executive secretary Richard DeGaetano, "in actuality it has grown in intensity and destruction with the shift to an escalated air war and the use of sophisticated technological weaponry. During the three days that Nixon will be talking with Trudeau, more than 1,000 people will be killed in Southeast Asia."

DeGaetano continued, "Trudeau, the man who will be shaking hands and sharing jokes with the world's number one war criminal, shares responsibility for the Indochina carnage. Canada's material aid to U.S. aggression in research, arms and strategic resources has become more important with Nixon's emphasis on the highly-technological remote-control war."

"One of the announced discussions of the Nixon-Trudeau

meetings," De Gaetano said, "will be a report on Nixon's to Peking. What has Nixon to report — a secret agreement with the Chinese? Will the U.S. be asking Canada to provide diplomatic cover for a phony settlement behind the backs of the Vietnamese people? Will Canadian troops be required for 'peacekeeping' duties to police such a settlement?"

CONFRONT NIXON IN OTTAWA APR 15



The Bombing of Indochina Goes On — US Out Now!
Break Canada From US War Machine

Join the Peace Train to Ottawa
Tickets on sale at 241 Victoria St., Toronto. \$12, return, Students 10.
The Peace Train leaves Union Station 7 am — returns 12 midnight.

VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE/STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE
241 VICTORIA ST. TORONTO 863-0494

**RICHARD NIXON. World's
number one war criminal
coming to Ottawa April 15.**

More information and tickets for the Peace Train to Ottawa can be obtained from the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, 241 Victoria St., Toronto 2, Ont., (416) 863-0494.

by The Editors

Prime Minister Trudeau will welcome President Nixon to Ottawa April 13-15 with all the pomp and circumstance of a state visit. Speeches by the two government heads will highlight clichés about the "unguarded border." Newspapers across Canada and the U.S. will feature pictures of Nixon and his junior partner shaking hands at various functions.

The Nixon-Trudeau talks are expected to include discussions of

Stop U.S. assault on Vietnamese Canadian protests tell Nixon



U.S. control of Canadian industry, the auto pact, energy resources, and great lakes pollution. The visit is designed to have the maximum advantage for Nixon and Trudeau in their respective election campaigns.

But the foreign guest is actually the world's foremost war criminal — the man who bears responsibility for the murder of hundreds of thousands of innocent Indochinese and the deaths of tens of thousands of American soldiers. The Canadian antiwar movement is mobilizing to confront Nixon with his crimes against humanity.

Massive bombing

The setting for Nixon's Ottawa visit is the launching April 3 of a massive bombing attack by the U.S. against what is said to be an invasion from North Vietnam into the northern provinces of South Vietnam. The U.S. has carried devastating B-52 strikes into North Vietnam.

Only a day before the bombing attacks, U.S. officials stated that they were leaving the operation in the hands of Saigon troops: "It's a South Vietnamese operation now and we're going to leave it to them."

But the next day the U.S. mounted a huge bombing assault to try to offset the collapse of the puppet Saigon army, whose troops are fleeing in shambles before the advance of the liberation forces.

The U.S. command made 250 fighter-bombers available on April 3, and promised more. Meanwhile all the aircraft carriers the U.S. has in the Pacific have been stationed off the coast to saturate the area with bombardment.

The purpose of all this deployment of forces? "To protect U.S. lives" is the excuse offered by the U.S. command in Saigon.

The hypocritical excuse of launching a murderous attack, one of the heaviest of the war, to "save lives" is already familiar to opponents of the war. This was President Lyndon Johnson's argument for the first bombings of North Vietnam. This was Nixon's excuse for sending American troops into Cambodia in May, 1970. It has been Nixon's tried and true excuse for every successive escalation of the air war.

Fraud of 'Vietnamization'

If Nixon is really concerned with saving American lives, why doesn't he get all his forces out of there? Of if by some stretch of the imagination, Nixon is concerned with Indochinese lives, then why not stop the bombing and military operations that are causing an average of 300 Indochinese deaths a day?

That the U.S. would intervene on such a massive scale on April 3 shows the fraud of Nixon's claim that he is "winding down" the war. In fact his policy of "Vietnamization" — progressively turning over more and more of the ground war to the Saigon army — is shown to be a dismal failure. U.S. troops, 95,000 at last count, are being kept in Indochina as an excuse for massive U.S. intervention at the least sign of instability.

It is clear that the Saigon army is only maintaining its shaky morale thanks to overwhelming U.S. airpower and the continued presence of U.S. troops. Nixon's aim, no matter how he may try to

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obscure it, is to continue the war to victory, crushing resistance throughout Indochina, and ultimately rolling back the North Vietnamese and Chinese revolutions.

But Nixon has been unable to vanquish the Indochinese liberation forces. And at home he is confronted with a powerful antiwar

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...U.S. bombs N. Vietnam

Continued from page 1

movement.

Thus U.S. imperialism is seeking a diplomatic deal that would maintain U.S. presence and temporarily scale down the war. Nixon is trying to achieve this through negotiating with the Peking and Moscow bureaucrats, rather than meeting the legitimate demands of the Vietnamese.

Nixon's Canadian visit comes in between the two stages of his diplomatic offensive. The first stage was his discussion with Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai in Peking. The second will be his visit to Moscow in May.

In this world context, the Indochina war is bound to be an important area of discussion between Nixon and Trudeau.

What will Nixon have to tell his junior partner? What new deals will Nixon report to Trudeau? Will Canada be asked to contribute, as it faithfully has in the past, to Nixon's efforts to convince world public opinion of the peaceful intentions of U.S. imperialism? Will Canadian troops be required in Indochina as some kind of "peace-keeping" force to impose on the Indochinese a settlement advantageous to Washington? What is the price of the continuation of Canada's "special relationship" with the U.S.?

And how will Trudeau respond to his guest? Will he speak for the Canadian people and condemn the new atrocities of the U.S. government?

The Canadian government continues its craven complicity in Nixon's war. Canadian support includes 18 years of backing up and spying for the U.S. on the International Control Commission. It includes External Affairs Minister Sharp's calling Nixon's fraudulent eight-point "peace" proposal a "serious effort" to end the war. It includes Canada's advance work in preparing the way for Nixon's maneuvers with Peking and Moscow. It includes continued material support in the form of research and shipments of arms and strategic resources to the U.S. war machine.

This support remains very im-



NIXON ESCALATES BOMBING AGAINST VIETNAM — On one day alone, April 4, U.S. bombers flew 217 raids over South Vietnam's northern Quang Tri province

portant for Washington. Canada's diplomatic complicity provides a useful service in covering up the crimes of U.S. aggression. External Affairs Minister Sharp has boasted that Canada's recognition of China prepared the way for Nixon's Peking visit.

Canadian material support, while it may have diminished to some extent recently, is particularly geared to such technological items as aircraft parts, radar equipment, sophisticated bomb sights, etc., which are central to Nixon's remote-control war strategy.

The Canadian people have no stake in Trudeau's tete-a-tete with Nixon. Their interests lie in ending

the war.

The antiwar actions scheduled for April 15 and 22 will demand that Trudeau speak for the majority of Canadians who want the war ended. Canada must withdraw now from the U.S. - dominated nuclear alliances NATO and NORAD. Shipments of arms and strategic resources must be cut off. Trudeau must unequivocally demand immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina.

On April 15, thousands of Canadians will be taking that message to Nixon and Trudeau in Ottawa. On April 22, demonstrations across Canada will join with millions around the world in demanding that the U.S. get out now.

Fourth International statement

U.S. OUT NOW!

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International has issued a statement urging that April 22 be made a day of international action against U.S. aggression in Indochina. This call is in response to an appeal from the American National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC).

Analyzing Nixon's deceptive maneuvers, the statement declares: "Nixon is trying to pacify worldwide opposition to U.S. imperialist policies as he 'Vietnamizes' and prolongs the war. He is attempting to buy time, especially with the American people, to convince them that the war is 'winding down'. . . He still hopes to 'end' the war by 'winning' it."

The Secretariat states that "The combined diplomatic and military offensive being waged by U.S. imperialism poses more sharply than

ever the responsibility of the international antiwar movement. Every effort must be made to mobilize massive actions in support of the Indochinese peoples' unconditional right to self-determination."

The statement notes planned actions by NPAC in New York and Los Angeles April 22, a week of actions by the Front Solidarite Indochine in France culminating on the same date, and simultaneous actions in other countries.

"The United Secretariat of the Fourth International calls on all those forces throughout the world who oppose U.S. aggression in Indochina to join the American, French, and other antiwar forces in mobilizing broad, united mass-actions on April 22.

"Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops, bases

and material from Indochina — OUT NOW!

"End the bombing now!

"Not a penny, not a gun for U.S. imperialism's war effort!

"Solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the Indochinese masses!

"Victory to the Vietnamese revolution!"

Build mass protests to stop Nixon's Vietnam escalation



photo by Wendy Johnson

ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS CONFRONT NIXON. Ottawa April 15. Protests around the world are growing in face of new U.S. escalation of Indochina bombing.

by George Addison

As Nixon wound up his visit to Ottawa April 15, he ordered a massive new escalation of the war. U.S. planes bombed Hanoi and Haiphong for the first time since 1968, creating extensive damage to residential and industrial areas, and hitting four Soviet ships in Haiphong harbor.

Nixon's bombing attacks on North Vietnam began on April 6, with the only restrictions on the bombing being those imposed by the weather. Nixon's new assault comes as part of a massive attack on all parts of Vietnam, in a desperate attempt to shore up the forces of the Saigon regime.

Trying to make the victim appear to be the criminal, Nixon has blamed the heightened war on North Vietnam, which he says, has invaded the South. Nixon hides the fact that Vietnam is one

country and the only "invaders" are the U.S. forces.

Nixon's hypocritical claims were backed up by his chief supporters, Edward Heath of Britain and Pierre Trudeau of Canada. Heath called Nixon's bombing of North Vietnam an "understandable reaction." Trudeau said the war issue "never came up" during his secret talks with Nixon. Trudeau refused NDP leader David Lewis' demand in Parliament that he seek an assurance that Nixon would not use nuclear weapons in Vietnam.

Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy is in shambles. Any belief that the Saigon puppet regime, troops could handle the liberation forces was shattered by a series of military defeats throughout South Vietnam. Nixon is just barely holding together the Saigon ranks with massive airpower and U.S. ground

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U.S. escalates war

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troops.

Nixon is faced with a major dilemma. His real policy is to remain in Vietnam and win a military victory, but because of the pressure placed on him by the struggle of the Indochinese and the power of the antiwar movement, he has been forced to adjust his strategy. Thus Nixon is trying to divert attention away from the war issue with troop withdrawals and "Vietnamization", while attempting to make a diplomatic deal with the Soviet Union and China to pressure the Vietnamese to give up their struggle.

The latest developments in the war threaten to overturn Nixon's strategy. The Vietnamese liberation forces have proved that they can launch effective attacks throughout Vietnam. Nixon's response on the battlefield may provoke a massive upsurge of popular feeling in the U.S. as the illusion that the war is "winding down" is broken.

But a diplomatic deal that would compromise the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination is still a real possibility. In the face of the most severe provocation — the bombing of four of its ships for the first time in the war — the Soviet Union replied with only a mild diplomatic note. Chinese reaction to Nixon's new assault has been weak, when compared to its firm position against the invasion of Laos in February, 1971.

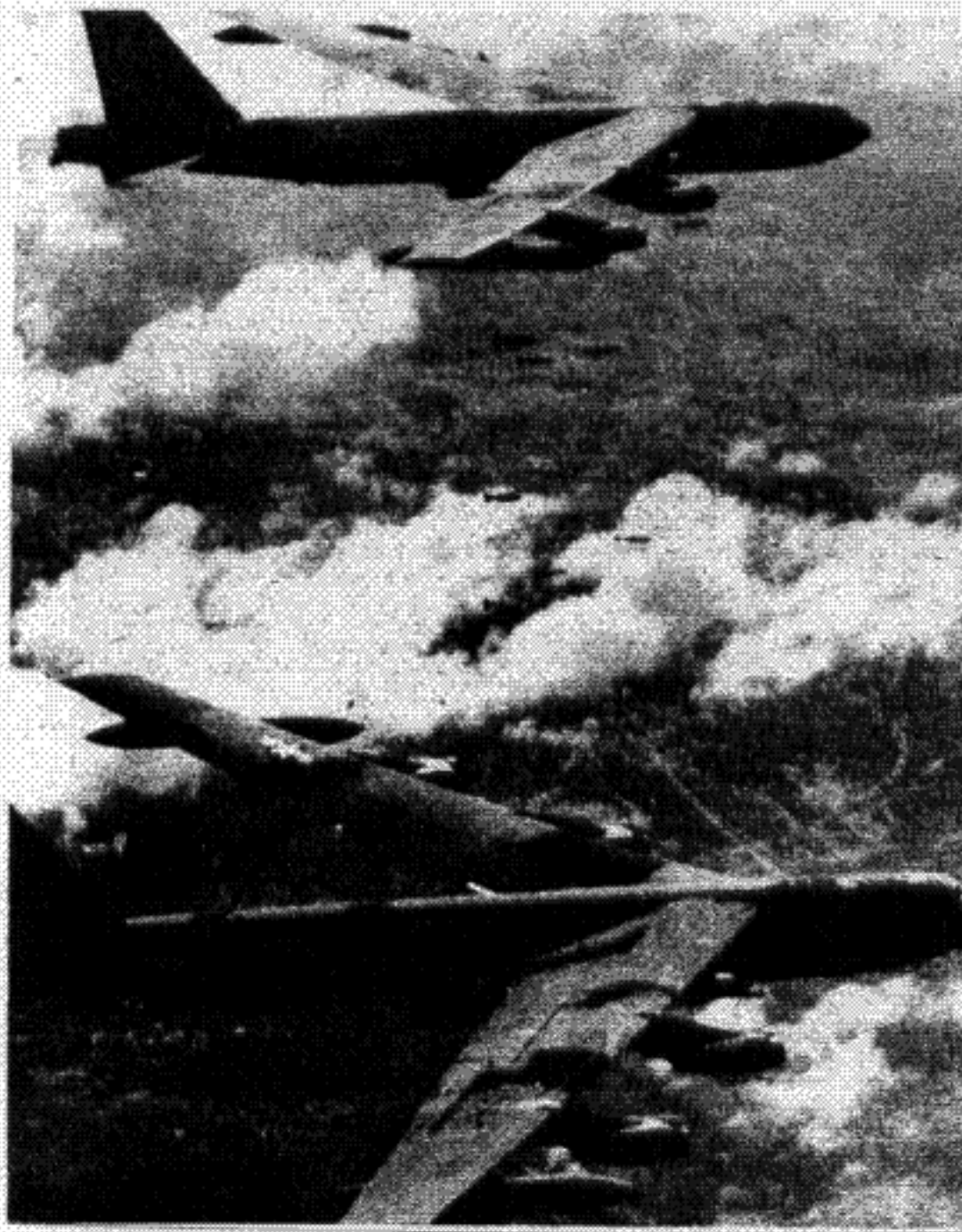
The reluctance of Moscow and Peking to stand up to Nixon's new aggression has been taken by the U.S. as a go-ahead for a massive buildup of forces.

A group of antiwar activists in Cambridge, Mass., have set up the Ad Hoc Military Buildup Committee, which collects and publicizes reports from antiwar G.I.s around the world. On April 17, the Committee released figures on the forces the U.S. is preparing for use against the Vietnamese.

Standby forces frozen for possible transfer and already enroute to Vietnam include 793 airplanes, 37 ships and 62,730 men. The Committee reports that 650 planes (390 on aircraft carriers), 37 ships and at least 33,900 troops have already left for possible use in Vietnam.

These forces come from bases in California, Hawaii, Virginia, and Florida. The moves coincide with stepped-up activity in the Philippines and Japan.

And there are ominous indications that the U.S. is preparing to use nuclear weapons against the Vietnamese. Columnist Jack Anderson



publicized secret Pentagon "contingency plans" on April 7:

"If the Communist offensive should threaten the orderly withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam," Anderson wrote, "President Nixon is prepared to use nuclear weapons against the attackers..."

"The secret plans call for using 'nukes' of different magnitude, depending on the targets. 'An air blast or a ground blast' might be used, say our sources. This would be determined by how much we wanted to limit the destruction."

The warmakers seem to have no compunction about any level of destruction. U.S. administration officials stated on April 16 that they were prepared to bomb targets anywhere in North or South Viet-

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nam. The U.S. attitude was crudely summed up by Major General James Hollingsworth, senior U.S. "advisor" in the Saigon area. Standing hands on hips, revolver at his belt, Hollingsworth told newsmen he really enjoys his job:

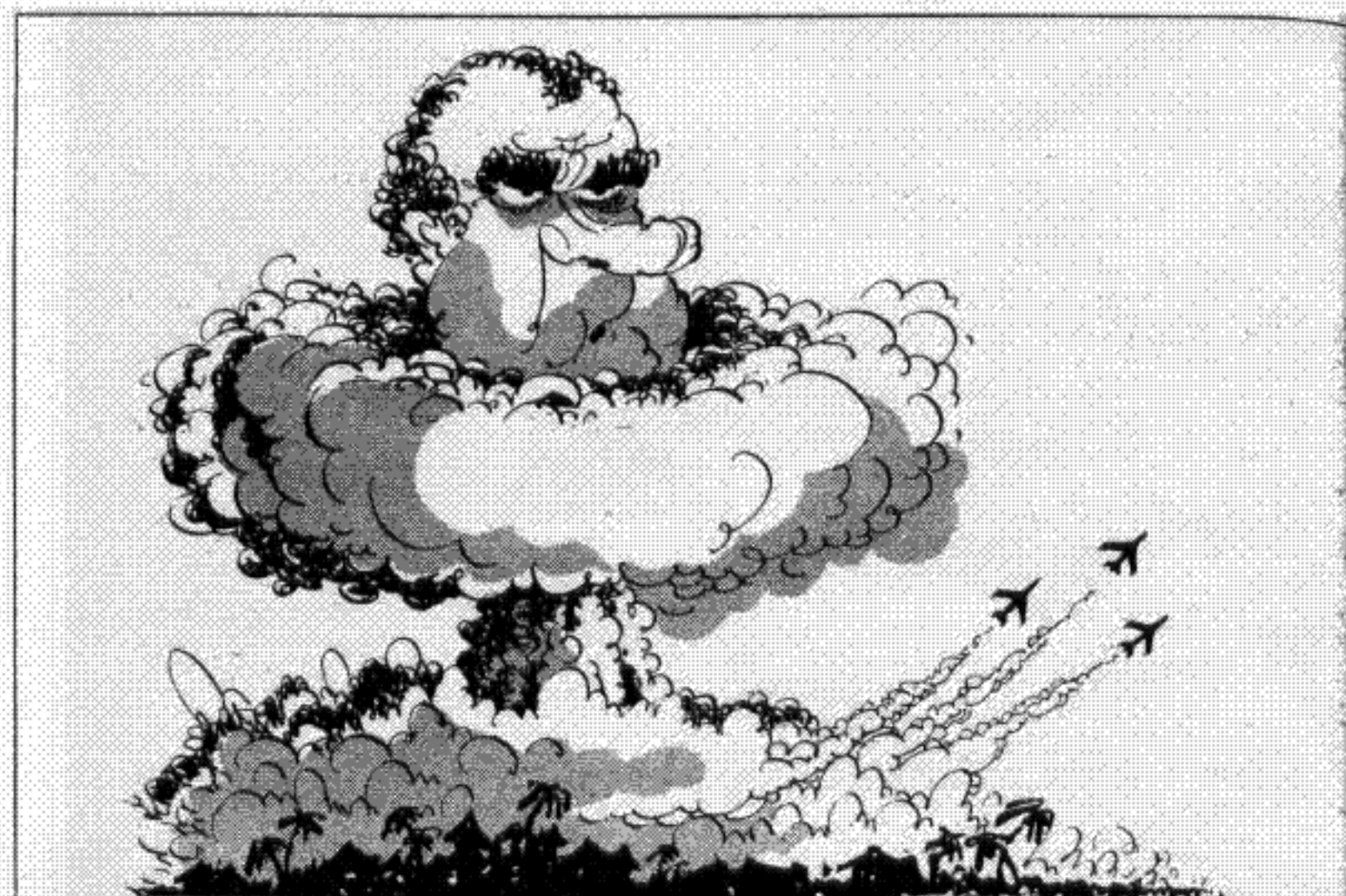
"Well," he drawled, "when you can kill hell out of them out there, Goddamn it, you feel real good. And we've been killing them by the thousands..."

In short, kill the people, level the cities with bombs, burn the countryside to a cinder. That is Nixon's plan for Vietnam.

But these sentiments are not shared by the U.S. troops. The first patrol of U.S. combat soldiers to be sent into battle refused to go. "We're not going," they shouted at their officers. "This isn't our war. We're not going out in the bush. Why should we fight if nobody back home gives a damn about us?"

But the majority of Americans do "give a damn" about these men. They are represented not by Nixon and the Pentagon but by the antiwar movement, which consistently exposed and mobilized against Nixon's war, and is preparing mass actions for April 22.

As the illusions fostered by Nixon and the bourgeois press are shattered by events on the war front, new layers of the population around the world will move into action, demanding that all the U.S. troops and material be brought home now, and the Indochinese people be left to determine their future in peace.



"Let me make myself perfectly clear. I will continue to bomb North Vietnam as long as they keep shooting back at our planes."

Ottawa protest confronts Nixon

More than 700 people braved driving rain, hail and snow to confront Nixon and Trudeau on the war issue in Ottawa April 15. Solidarity demonstrations were held in centers across the country.

Nine buses of demonstrators from Toronto and Southwestern Ontario travelled overnight to Ottawa after a spirited rally in Toronto on Friday night. They were joined by antiwar protesters from Kingston, Peterborough, Sudbury and Ottawa in Ontario, and Hull and Montreal in Quebec. It was by far the largest demonstration to take place during Nixon's Canadian visit.

The Trudeau government feared the impact of antiwar demonstrations and tailored the visit to meet this problem. They changed the schedule so that Nixon wouldn't stop off in Toronto where they feared he would be met by large crowds demanding he end the war. Thus they set Nixon's departure from Ottawa for early Saturday. Their wall of police detained the antiwar demonstration to allow Nixon to escape from the parliament build-

ings without having to face the protesters.

Speakers at the rally on Parliament Hill included Richard DeGaetano, executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee and Joan Kabayama of the Voice of Women and NDP candidate in Grenville-Carleton federal riding. Speakers representing the League for Socialist Action, Toronto Women's Caucus, Toronto Gay Action, Students for a Democratic Society, the Comité Québécois Contre la Guerre en Indochine and the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Front, expressed their solidarity with the protest.

There were demonstrations across Canada. Two hundred people, mainly high school students, demonstrated in Victoria B.C. in a march organized by the same forces that built the massive Amchitka protests last fall. 250 demonstrators in Vancouver heard speakers including Clive Lytle of the B.C. Federation of Labor, Hilda Thomas of the Vietnam Action Committee and Joyce Meissenheimer of the NDP

provincial executive denounce Nixon's war.

In Montreal, 250 marched and 400 participated in an indoor rally. The demonstration was originally called by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, backed by the Communist party. The Moratorium Committee excluded other antiwar groups such as the Comité Québécois Contre la Guerre en Indochine, Vietnamese Patriotes and Collecte-Vietnam. As the demonstration assembled under heavy rain, the organizers called off the march. But 250 people marched anyway under the leadership of the Comité Québécois. The rally heard Fernand Daoust of the Quebec Federation of Labor, Marcel Perreault of the Montreal Labor Council, Raymond Laliberte of the Quebec NDP and others.

The actions set the stage for a powerful response to Nixon's new escalation of the war. The Vietnam Mobilization Committee has called for the building of united actions on April 22, International Peace Action Day.

labor *Challenge*

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photo by McInnis

ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS converge on Parliament Hill, Ottawa, April 15.

Vietnam for the Vietnamese! Mobilize to force U.S. out now!

by The Editors

MAY 2 — Liberation forces yesterday consolidated their hold on the northern province of south Vietnam with the capture of Quang Tri. Their forces are moving forward relentlessly on a number of fronts throughout the country.

ARVN, the colonial army of the Saigon regime — the army that Nixon claimed only a week ago could take over the fighting of the war — is falling apart. ARVN soldiers cling to helicopter struts to escape from the battlefield, or flee in disarray. Deserters returning from the fronts spread word of fresh disasters. It is clear now, if it was not before, that the only Vietnamese army that can be said to exist is the people's liberation forces. Now political figures in Saigon are openly speculating on the imminent collapse of the puppet regime.

South Vietnam never had any legitimacy. It was purely a creation of U.S. imperialism in the beginning, and has existed only by force of U.S. armed might. Vietnam is one country — not two. The only border is the wall of U.S. armour.

Despite Nixon's bombing — on a scale unparalleled in human history — despite the technological, remote-control weaponry, the heroic revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination is advancing rapidly.

In his April 26 TV speech, Nixon declared, "All that we have risked and all that we have gained over the years now hangs in the balance." And so it does. Nixon now has two alternatives — accept defeat and get out, or launch another desperate attempt to win the war by destroying Vietnam — perhaps with nuclear weapons.

Nixon must be stopped. People in all countries, must be mobilized in powerful, united actions to force Nixon out now, and ensure the victory of the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination.

U.S. OUT NOW!

VIETNAM FOR THE VIETNAMESE!



FLEEING SAIGON TROOPS scramble for helicopter (above) while liberation forces push forward in fight for self-determination.



Vietnam - one country

labor **Challenge**

#55 May 8 1972

by John Wilson

While U.S. President Richard Nixon spoke on TV April 26, his bombers continued to pour a rain of death on the heads of the people of Vietnam. His attempt to justify the savage escalation of the air war was a brazen and cynical insult to the intelligence of the people of the United States and the entire world.

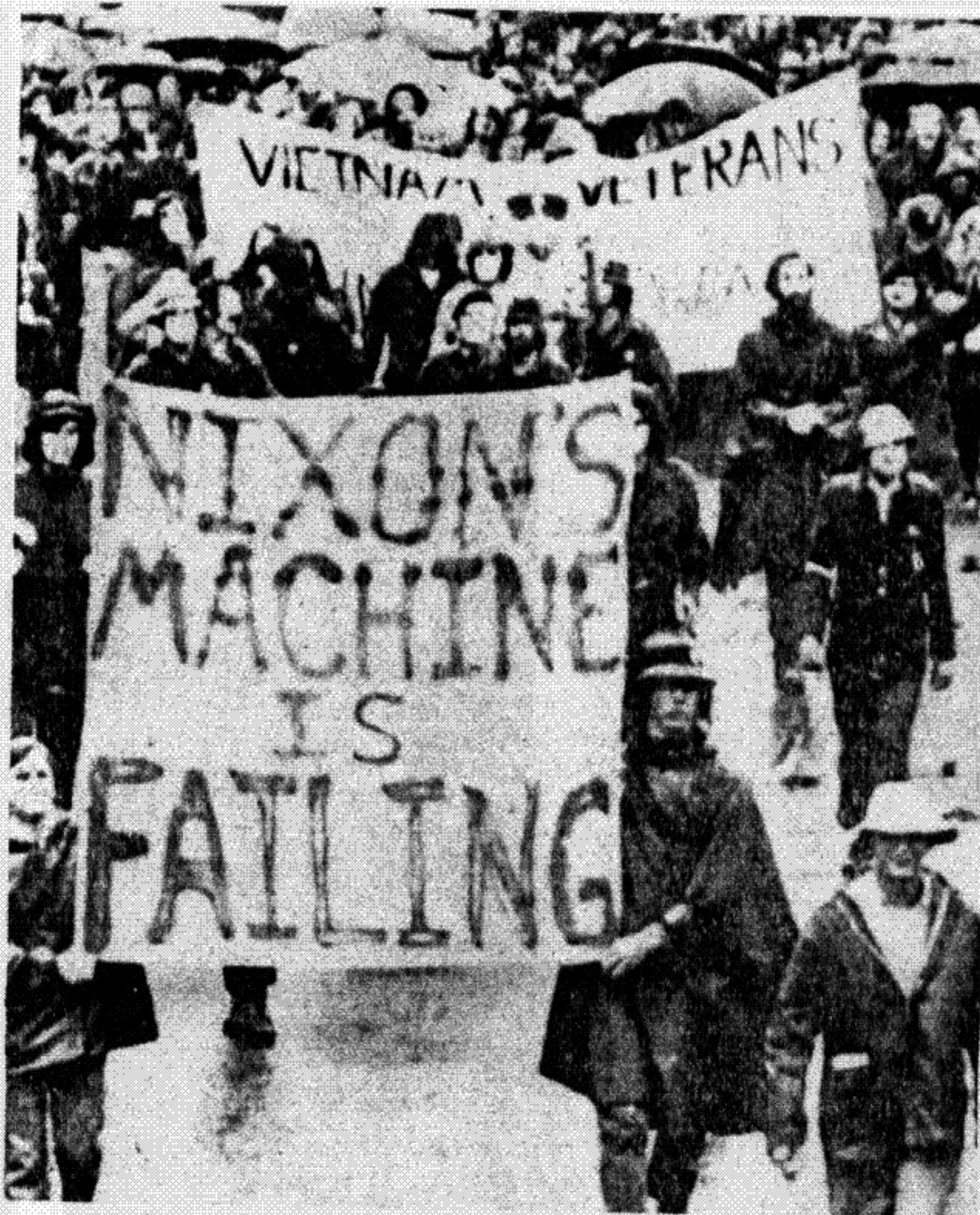
Feigning righteous indignation, the world's number one war criminal railed against "Communist aggression" and the alleged "invasion" of South Vietnam from the North. He declared, "we will not be defeated," and claimed that "Vietnamization" and withdrawal of U.S. ground troops would proceed while the bombing continues. Meanwhile Nixon announced, the bombing will continue as long as the "invasion" does.

Contrary to Nixon's demagoguery, Vietnam is one country, not two. "South Vietnam" is an artificial creation of world, primarily U.S., imperialism. The recent victories of the liberation forces and their proven ability to strike anywhere in Vietnam at any time once again show "Vietnamization" for the complete fraud that it has been from the beginning. The puppet government in Saigon could not survive more than a matter of days without massive U.S. support. There is only one invader in Vietnam and that is U.S. imperialism. How can the Vietnamese "invade" their own country?

All of which doesn't prevent Nixon from publicly pretending that the new attacks on North Vietnam are in retaliation for supposed increases of Soviet military aid to Hanoi, or even having the gall to condemn the Soviet Union for "interfering" in Vietnam — as if the U.S. hasn't been conducting its barbarous aggression against the Indochinese revolution for almost twenty years!

The Vietnamese offensive against U.S. imperialism and its puppet troops is both heroic and inspiring. They have made major attacks on Saigon forces throughout the countryside. In both the sophistication of the weaponry and the ferocity of the fighting, this offensive is on a significantly higher level than the Tet offensive of February, 1968. The liberation forces have been able to score major victories, in the face of a savage assault by U.S. bombers and artillery.

Nixon's April 16 bombing of four Soviet ships in Haiphong harbour was a deliberate provocation of the Soviet Union. Nixon was testing



THE MAJORITY of Americans oppose Nixon's war policy. Hundreds of thousands demonstrated Apr. 22.

Moscow, to find out how they would respond to the heightened war.

And what was the Kremlin's reaction? Only a mildly-worded diplomatic note, and an announcement that Nixon's trip to Moscow would go ahead as scheduled, as if nothing had happened.

The absence of any meaningful response by either Moscow or Peking has permitted Washington to continue the war and escalate it into the most intensified onslaught in history. Nixon has exploited this effectively, preparing the way for a diplomatic deal that would allow the U.S. to retain its foothold in Southeast Asia.

Nixon is also aware of the record of the Moscow and Peking bureaucrats — the sellout of dozens of revolutions around the world, including putting pressure on the Vietnamese to accept the Geneva Accords of 1954. In that case, as the Pentagon papers show, Moscow and Peking pressured the Viet Minh to allow the partition of Vietnam,

opening the way for the entry of U.S. forces.

Now Nixon is looking for a diplomatic package deal which could include arms limitations and the German treaties that go with it.

The danger of such a sellout by the Kremlin is very real. Is it coincidental that the decision of the U.S. to return to the Paris peace talks followed a secret visit to Moscow by presidential security adviser Henry Kissinger? Did Kissinger receive assurances that Moscow would put the heat on the Vietnamese for a "settlement" on U.S. terms?

Internationally, what the Vietnamese need more than anything else is a massive antiwar movement that rallies all the antiwar forces in every country of the world. These are the forces that imperialism cannot ignore. Side by side with the Indochinese revolutionary struggle, a united, global antiwar movement can bring sufficient pressure on Washington to force it to end the war and get out.

Escalation spurs worldwide protest

by Carl Fleming

The most widespread international antiwar protests ever took place April 22 in response to Nixon's escalation of the Indochina war. Demonstrations took place in more than 20 countries and more are planned.

In the United States, more than 100,000 people marched through the rain in New York City in a mass demonstration organized by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). In Los Angeles 30,000 marched. More than 25,000 marched in San Francisco. And there were solidarity demonstrations across the country, staged by those unable to attend rallies in the three centers.

April 22 was preceded in the U.S. by a wave of student strikes — the first since May, 1970 after Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the murder of protesting students at Kent State and Jackson State.

On April 23, the Student Mobilization Committee held a national student strike conference to build continuing actions against the war. Demonstrations on April 29

and May 4 were projected and planned, along with an extension of protests in the schools and colleges.

Marching in solidarity with the Vietnamese and the American antiwar movement, were tens of thousands of people in Europe.

In Sweden, demonstrations were held in 47 cities on April 15, with a total participation of 23,000 Swedes. The largest action was in Stockholm, with 11,000 people.

More than 10,000 demonstrated in Paris April 15, behind the banners of the Indochina Solidarity Front. Actions in cities throughout France took place on April 25.

Antiwar actions were also held in Germany, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Scotland, Britain and other European countries. April 22 was a day of antiwar action as well in Australia, New Zealand, Japan and elsewhere.

Canadian antiwar actions took place in at least seven cities.

More than 100 people marched in Vancouver to protest Nixon's

escalation of the war. 100 braved a major snowstorm in Edmonton. 250 people marched in the rain in Winnipeg. 110 demonstrated in Halifax.

The Ontario demonstration in Toronto was hampered by rain and high winds. But 250 people joined in a rally in City Hall square, then marched on the U.S. consulate. Among the speakers were NDP MLA James Renwick, who read a message of solidarity from NDP federal leader David Lewis, Ellie Prepas, representing the Waffle group, John Steele of the Toronto League for Socialist Action and others.

An emergency antiwar conference of the Student Mobilization Committee and the Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto, April 29 answered the American antiwar movement's call to continue the mass protests. The emergency conference laid plans for a broad, educational campaign in the high schools and colleges, highlighted by demonstrations on May 4.

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MAY 22, 1972

Editorials

Unity needed to fight Nixon's escalation

Nixon's assault on the Vietnamese liberation struggle poses a challenge for all those who oppose the war. His escalation of the bombing, mining of the harbors of North Vietnam, and bombing of rail lines running into China is an act of desperation which threatens the world with nuclear destruction.

There is a real urgency to take action, both to increase international pressure on Nixon, and to force the Trudeau government to represent the interests and desires of the majority of Canadians — to break from the U.S. war machine.

The Trudeau government has responded to the threat of world war three with cynicism and hypocrisy. "The situation is too serious for comment," said external affairs minister Mitchell Sharp. "If it comes to nuclear war, you won't be around to criticize me," was Trudeau's reply to Toronto high school students who pressed him for a position on the war issue.

In this light, with nuclear war threatened by U.S. aggression and its supporters in Canada, it is alarming that most left-wing tendencies in Canada, who should be in the forefront of building mass actions to defend the Vietnamese, have abstained or split from united actions.

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee has appealed for mass united actions for Vietnamese self-determination and the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces and materiel from Indochina. The VMC has called for demonstrations across Canada May 20-21, and again on June 3.

All those who oppose the war and support self-determination for Indochina must respond to the appeal of the VMC. This is the most elementary principle of international solidarity.

Why Nixon escalated the war

by GEORGE ADDISON

The following is based on a speech given by George Addison to the Toronto Vanguard Forum on May 12.

Why did Nixon do it?

As the emperor was speaking on television on May 8, his forces were laying mines in the harbor of Haiphong and other North Vietnamese ports. His bombers were dropping their destructive loads on Hanoi, Haiphong and on rail lines running into North Vietnam from China. An armada of U.S. ships were steaming into North Vietnamese waters to intercept all sea traffic.

Throughout Indochina, the order was heard — escalate!

Nixon justified his actions by saying that while he was for a "just" peace, the Vietnamese have refused to negotiate on his terms. And now they have launched an offensive that "threatens the lives of 60,000 American troops who are still in Vietnam."

"There is only one way to stop the killing," Nixon continued, "and that is to keep the weapons of war out of the hands of the international outlaws of North Vietnam."

Nixon was furious that the Vietnamese liberation forces should be able to inflict defeat after defeat on his "expansion team" — the forces of his puppet regime in Saigon. The liberation offensive has exploded all the myths and lies promoted by the U.S. — that the Thieu regime has some legitimacy and that Vietnam is two countries, that "Vietnamization" of the war is possible, and that U.S. airpower is sufficient to win the war.

Nixon said he had "no choice" but to take the actions he took. He dismissed the obvious option — the alternative demanded by the overwhelming majority of the American and world's people — that he load his 60,000 troops, his planes and military equipment on ships and bring them home!

But why would Nixon take such desperate moves — that even the Texan gunslinger Lyndon Johnson had shunned — provoking a confrontation with the Soviet Union and China and bringing the world to the brink of a third world war, and the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons.

His moves don't make sense militarily. Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger admits that even if the U.S. was able to cut off all supplies entering North Vietnam, the current liberation offensive could be continued at least until July, and perhaps longer. And there

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are a variety of alternative land routes which could be used to bring in supplies. Even during the height of the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam in 1968, the Vietnamese were able to keep their rail lines running.

Nixon's blockade makes sense only in political terms. He is attacking the Vietnamese revolutionaries at their weakest point — their political and economic ties to the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking.

Nixon is in effect saying to the Soviet Union and China: "Help us out. The Vietnamese are being unreasonable. If you really believe in peaceful coexistence, then put some heat on the Vietnamese to settle on our terms."

There are strong reasons why Nixon can expect a "positive" response from the Soviets. The newspapers on May 12 carried a picture of Nixon laughing and talking in Washington with the Soviet ambassador and trade minister. Asked afterward by reporters if Nixon's visit was still on, Soviet trade minister Parolichev replied, "Was there ever any doubt?"

In a column carried in the May 12 Globe and Mail, James Reston of the New York Times tried to explain the lack of response from Moscow to Nixon's provocative actions:

"... They (Soviets) understand the President's problems at home and abroad. They want the settlement in Berlin. They want the agreements with the United States on trade, and

nuclear arms control. They want a European security arrangement for Washington to withdraw some or all of its soldiers between the Ruhr and the Elbe, and they're not too worried about Vietnam."

William Frye, writing in the Toronto Star of May 13 put it even more clearly. According to Frye, Henry Kissinger returned from Moscow on April 21 with a pledge that the Kremlin would "intervene with North Vietnam on behalf of a more meaningful peace negotiation."

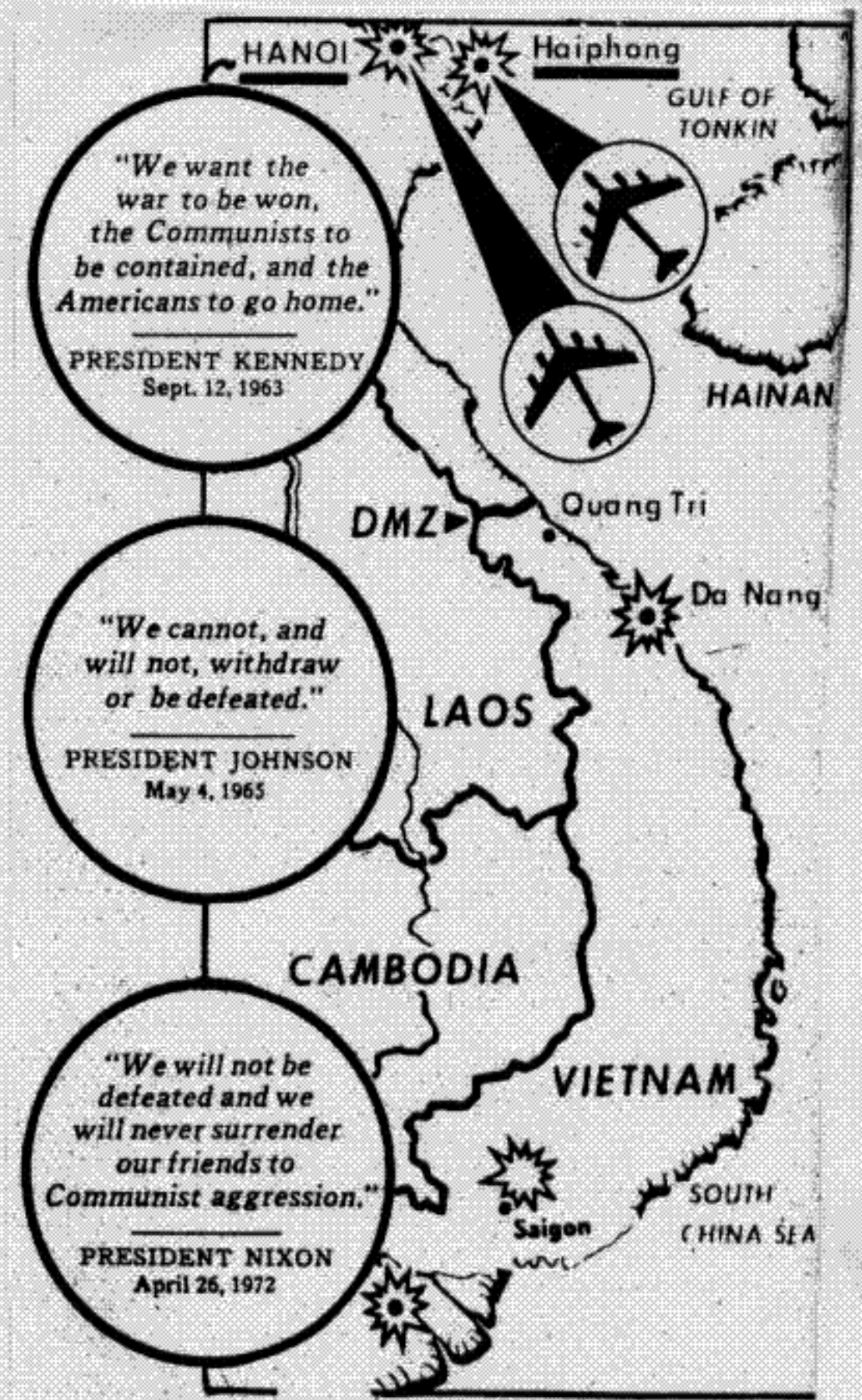
"But on May 2, when Kissinger met Hanoi's Le Duc Tho in Paris, there was no 'give' whatsoever ... There was nothing but stubborn repetition of familiar formulae."

"Almost certainly," Frye continued, "Moscow tried and failed."

"To expect the Soviet Union to challenge the United States and risk a nuclear showdown, in order to maintain a full flow of supplies to a client who has thumbed its nose at the protector, and who has repeatedly undercut the protector's interests, is expecting a great deal."

"Whatever Moscow may say aloud," concluded Frye, "it is reasonable to believe that she will await a more cooperative attitude in

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Hanoi before going all out on her client's behalf. . ."

As for the Chinese, who are more directly affected than the Soviets — they share a common border with North Vietnam, and the U.S. is already bombing rail lines close to the border — their response has so far been limited to a statement appealing to the "charter of the United Nations and international public law."

Blocked from a military victory in Vietnam, Nixon is appealing to the Stalinist policy of both the Soviet Union and China — "peaceful coexistence" — to bail him out. The reaction to the latest U.S. moves will be met with great satisfaction by the warmakers in Washington.

The policy of "peaceful coexistence" stems from the two-sided character of the bureaucratic cliques that have usurped power in the Soviet Union and China.

On the one hand, the bureaucrats are forced to defend the nationalized property relations won by the revolutions in 1917 and 1949. They have to appear to support revolutionary struggles around the world.

But on the other hand, the bureaucrats are interested in their own, narrow interests. They see their positions being undermined both by attacks from imperialism and from upsurges of revolution. Therefore, they seek to defend themselves not by extending revolution, but by limiting it, and trying to make deals with imperialism.

This is the policy that Nixon is counting on. Time and time again, international pressures have been brought to bear on the Vietnamese, forcing compromises and giving imperialism another chance to consolidate its position.

Both in 1945, at the end of World War II, and again after the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu in 1953, the Vietnamese revolutionaries had



"STOP THE BOMBING, U.S. OUT OF VIETNAM!" was demand of Montreal demonstration against war escalation May 13. broke up protest with clubs and motorcycles.

effective power over the whole of Vietnam. But the Soviet Union and China asserted the primacy of their interests, and allowed imperialism time to mount a counter-revolution.

But despite Stalinist betrayals, the independent revolutionary dynamic of the revolution burst out again and again. The needs and hopes of the Vietnamese people could not be smashed by imperialism's war machine. The people wanted land, a full rice bowl, and control over their own country. And the puppet regimes set up by imperialism couldn't provide even the illusion of that.

The liberation offensive, which exploded throughout South Vietnam in early April, caught the U.S. off guard and left the Saigon army in disarray.

On May 2, the liberation forces took the northern provincial capital of Quang Tri, and established a provisional government. They are advancing throughout the countryside and are at the time of this writing moving on Hue, the old imperial capital for what American strategists call the "pivotal battle of the war."

An American general describes the battle for Hue as like the "Alamo." But reports from the scene show no determination, only chaos. Soldiers run aimlessly around the city. Thousands of them have deserted to the rear.

In Hoai An district in Binh Dinh province, a U.S. official described a battle: "When the chips were down, the district chief went off in a jeep with his refrigerator, along with the commander of the 40th regiment. The soldiers took to the hills."

One U.S. "adviser" summed up the dilemma of the Saigon army this way: "We built up a million man army with American training and American arms. We could give them everything — except a cause to fight

for."

In contrast to Nixon's colonial army the liberation forces have a cause. They are fighting for their country, and their lives — for their future. They have stripped bare all the illusions fostered by the U.S. aggressors and their propaganda machine. It is now clear for everyone to see. "Vietnamization" now is shown to be a colossal fraud — the Thieu regime has no legitimacy at all. There is no "invasion" from North Vietnam. Vietnam is one country — the overwhelming majority of its people are united and determined to repel the real invader, the United States military machine.

That military machine has time and time again tried to batter down the Vietnamese people's struggle. Its bombers have never ceased their rain of devastation. Hundreds of square miles of land have been turned into wasteland.

But the bombs have failed to defeat the will of the people. Nixon can recoup his forces only by sending thousands of U.S. ground troops back in, to seize territory and hold it. Or he can launch a nuclear war, and destroy all the people.

But with the rise in antiwar sentiment around the world, Nixon is less and less able to carry out these options. Nixon knows that any move he may take would provoke a crisis of immense proportions in the U.S. and around the world.

Nixon also knows that his troops are infected with antiwar sentiment and are therefore unreliable. The first U.S. patrol ordered into battle against the liberation offensive refused to go. "This isn't our war..." they told their officers, "Why should we fight if nobody back home gives a damn about us." There have been numerous other manifestations of GI antiwar sentiment in Vietnam,



George Addison

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from refusals to fight to "fragging" (throwing fragmentation bombs) of officers.

A Vietnam veteran, Larry Rottman writes.

"Ask what kind of war it is where you can be pinned down

all day in a muddy rice paddy while you buddies are being shot and a close-support Phantom jet who has been napalming the enemy

wraps itself around a tree and explodes

and you cheer inside?"

It is this sentiment that has tied one of Nixon's hands behind his back, and made it possible for the victories of the Vietnamese. It has limited Nixon's option to the dangerous course of trying to enlist Moscow and Peking to help him win at the peace table what he has been unable to win on the battlefields — a deal that would allow the U.S. to retain a toehold in Indochina in preparation for a new assault on the revolution.

There are two factors that stand in the way of such a deal. The first is the independent thrust of the Vietnamese revolution — and the Vietnamese leadership has taken a very firm line in the face of Nixon's attacks.

One May 9, a spokesperson for North Vietnam in Paris declared that they would never accept Nixon's ultimatum: "As long as the Nixon administration continues its aggression in Vietnam, pursues its policy of Vietnamization of the war and continues the escalation of the war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), the entire people of Vietnam are resolved to continue the struggle of resistance until they obtain their fundamental objectives — independence, liberty and peace."

It is hardly coincidental that the



HAIPHONG. Photo shows devastation of U.S. bombs.

Vietnamese launched their offensive just after Nixon's trip to Peking, and on the eve of his visit to Moscow. They are asserting control over their own revolution.

The second factor is the continuing power of the antiwar movement around the world, and particularly in the United States. This movement has already mobilized millions of people in the streets around the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. It led a massive upsurge against Nixon's invasion of Cambodia in May 1970. And it is continuing its actions against Nixon's latest moves.

Never before has U.S. imperialism faced such widespread and organized opposition to a war of foreign conquest. The antiwar movement has already severely limited Nixon's options in Vietnam, and threatens to destroy all his plans.

Nixon, and U.S. administrations before him, made Vietnam the central point of conflict between the power of imperialism and the power of revolution. Nixon is trying to intimidate all those who would launch struggles for self-determination anywhere in the world. His bombers serve notice that any people who take up the fight to

change their lives will meet the fate of the Vietnamese.

But a victory for the Vietnamese revolution would inspire and push forward the worldwide struggle. Vietnam has already shown concretely that U.S. imperialism can be defeated. Vietnam is for the oppressed people of the world a symbol of struggle and international solidarity.

Given such a situation, with the fate of the world struggle hinging on the Vietnamese, it is essential that the worldwide antiwar movement be built.

International solidarity must be concretized around the broadest possible mass actions and demands that place responsibility for the war on imperialism and point the way to the solution. The international antiwar movement challenges the ties, alliances and support that U.S. imperialism has in its aggression against the Vietnamese. In Canada the antiwar movement demands that the Trudeau government end its complicity in the war.

The key demand, the only guarantee for Vietnamese self-determination and victory to their revolution, is that the U.S. unconditionally withdraw all its forces and material from Indochina now.

Antiwar movement mobilizes to stop Nixon

MAY 13 — Nixon's escalation of the war against Vietnam has met with a militant, angry response around the world, as the international antiwar movement gathers its forces to block U.S. aggression.

Actions have been held across Canada, protesting the escalation, and further actions are being planned by the antiwar movement.

In the two days after Nixon's speech that announced the mining of Haiphong and other North Vietnamese ports, and the stepup of bombing raids, emergency demonstrations were held in Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver. Larger actions took place across the country on Saturday, May 13.

A militant demonstration of 400 people was broken up by police in Montreal on May 13. The demonstration took place as a wave of strikes and occupations swept Quebec in response to the antilabor Bill 19 and jailing of labor leaders.

The police had banned the antiwar march "in view of the unstable social climate" in Quebec.

In a statement just after the demonstration John Lejderman of the Comité Québécois Contre la Guerre en Indochine, declared: "Without giving the least warning the police brutally charged the demonstrators on Cote-des-Neiges street with swining clubs and motorcycles. Many people were hurt and arrested by the police."

"This is the first time" the statement continued, "that a peaceful demonstration against the war in Indochina has been attacked by the police. The police had banned the demonstration because of the 'union troubles,' but the committee replied that it was up to Nixon to lift his blockade and not up to the committee to shut up."

300 people marched in Vancouver on May 13, behind the banners of the Vietnam Action Committee, taking the main streets despite the city's refusal to grant a permit. Speakers at the courthouse rally included representatives of the International Woodworkers of America, the NDP provincial executive, Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Irish Solidarity Committee and the Young Socialists.

There were a number of actions through last week in Toronto, leading up to a demonstration of more than 400 people at the U.S. consulate, after a march through the downtown area on May 13. The



ANTIWAR PROTESTS GROW. Torontonians march behind

photo by Jeff White

march and rally were organized by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

Some left-wing groups failed to respond to the VMC's appeal for a united demonstration, and held their own sectarian demonstrations. On the arrival of the VMC march at the U.S. consulate, there were no less than four different demonstrations taking place. VMC leaders were able to convince a number of the groups to join in a united rally.

Further actions have been called by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, for May 21 and June 3. The Student Mobilization Committee is organizing a campaign in the high schools.

Around the world, emergency demonstrations answered Nixon's dangerous escalation of the war. On May 9, 4,000 people marched in Copenhagen, Denmark. In Frankfurt, Germany, 1,500 demonstrated. On May 10, a reported 12,000 took to the streets in Stockholm against the war. 5,000 marched in London, England May 13. Other actions are

taking place across Europe.

The largest and most explosive response came in the United States. The weekly socialist newspaper The Militant, which carries extensive coverage and analysis of the antiwar struggle, reports that "a massive, nationwide upsurge of the student movement is taking place." Thousands of students are taking over their campuses and launching portests.

Demonstrations took place in dozens of centers May 13, including a march of 10,000 in New York City.

The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) have called for a united march and rally in Washington, D.C., on Sunday, May 21. The two coalitions also called for sustained antiwar action in Washington and around the country after that date.

The quick growth of mass international protests is an inspiring development. Highlighted by worldwide protests on May 21, the antiwar movement is putting the heat on Nixon, and building solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination.

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Moscow toasts Nixon as U.S. blasts Vietnam

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Summit talks threaten Vietnam

by GEORGE ADDISON

About the only places in the world that Nixon can visit without the fear of mass antiwar demonstrations are Peking and Moscow.

The U.S. president's triumphal eight-day tour of the Soviet Union has been replete with state receptions and Summit meetings that resulted in treaties and agreements on various questions. But the real purpose of Nixon's visit was carefully reserved for top-secret negotiations.

That is, the Indochina war.

The drone of U.S. bombers over North Vietnam, the shelling from U.S. destroyers in the Tonkin Gulf, the bombing and strafing throughout all Indochina, the cries of the victims of U.S. aggression, were not heard above the clinking of glasses at the formal dinner parties in Moscow.

The gracious reception accorded war criminal Nixon by the Kremlin bureaucrats should come as no surprise. It flows directly from their strategy of trying to achieve

"peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The fact that this policy undercuts and betrays liberation struggles around the world means nothing to the present-day heirs of Stalin.

But "peaceful coexistence" hasn't a chance of bringing peace. On the contrary, it encourages imperialism, in its rapacious drive for markets and profits, to extend its counterrevolutionary assault on liberation struggles, and to aim for conquest of the workers' states themselves.

U.S. imperialism was heartened and relieved at the restraint showed by the Soviet Union and China with each successive escalation of the Indochina war. As the Pentagon Papers show, the U.S. warmakers carefully tested Soviet and Chinese reaction at each step, to see how much they could get away with. And at each step, they interpreted the lack of response as a green light for further escalation of the slaughter.

The whole history of U.S. policy in Asia shows that imperialism can't be stopped by the empty rhetoric of "peaceful coexistence." Only a firm response from the Soviet Union and China is understood by the war-makers.

U.S. imperialism played a similar

game to Vietnam in Korea, but was forced back after having provoked a reaction at a critical juncture in that bloody war.

In 1951, as the U.S.-led forces (which included Canadian troops) swept through North Korea towards the Chinese border, a division of opinion occurred in U.S. ruling circles, between those who, like General MacArthur, wanted to escalate the war into China, and the more prudent sector of the ruling class, who understood the real threat of Soviet and Chinese power. Senator Wayne Morse outlined the advice given by the top U.S. military officials to President Truman at the time: "I violate no secrecy when I say that advice was: 'see to it that we do not bomb beyond the Yalu, because if we bomb beyond the Yalu, Russia will then move in.'"

"Peaceful coexistence" did not rebuff the imperialists in Korea. They pulled back when faced with Chinese troops and Soviet planes, because they thought they might lose the war.

The Kremlin bureaucrats owe their position of power and special privileges in Soviet society to their usurping power from the victorious working class after the October 1917 revolution. They fear the relentless attacks of imperialism, which has never given up hope of overthrowing the workers' states and restoring capitalism. But they likewise fear the advance of world revolution, which threatens their positions.

Thus the bureaucrats seek and rely on deals with the imperialist powers, and have sold out and sabotaged revolutions time and time again to pave the way for "peaceful coexistence."

Thus, while Nixon was escalating the war, mining the harbors of North Vietnam, attacking Soviet ships and bombing the rail lines into China, the Kremlin, in pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with warmaker Nixon, ignored it all and proceeded with the Summit conference.

It is inconceivable that Nixon would go to Moscow for any other reason than to get the Kremlin bureaucrats' help in furthering U.S. policy in Indochina. The war is Nixon's main preoccupation — and his main headache — both internationally and in domestic U.S. politics. The strategic arms limitation agreements, and those concerning space, trade, etc. are



small potatoes, which could easily have been worked out by junior officials.

Nixon was after bigger things. He seeks Moscow's aid in pressing the Vietnamese for a settlement of the war on U.S. terms.

And Nixon must have had a pretty good idea that his search for a silent partner in his aggression against Vietnam would be successful.

But the Soviets will find it difficult to convince the Vietnamese of Nixon's good will. The Vietnamese liberation offensive in the south is being heroically continued, despite Nixon's wining and dining in the Kremlin.

On May 20, the day Nixon left for Moscow, the Hanoi daily Nhan Dan outlined the Vietnamese position: "To the intrigues, the effective answer is to lay bare their objectives."

"To Nixon's threats, the best answer is to show a firm attitude and expose his weak and losing posture."

"A few signs of weakness will encourage the truculence of the pirates."

The Moscow bureaucrats stood by smilingly while Nixon spoke on television trying to convince the Soviet people of his good intentions: "We covet no one else's territory, we seek no dominion over any other people ... Our power will only be used to keep the peace, never to break it: only to defend freedom, never to destroy it ... " and so on.

Then Nixon referred to the 12-year-old Tanya, whose diary recorded the death of her whole family during the Nazi siege of Leningrad: "As we work toward a

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more peaceful world, let us think of Tanya — and of the other Tanyas and their brothers and sisters everywhere. Let us do all we can to ensure that no other children will have to endure what Tanya did ... "

The image that immediately comes to mind is the pictures of Tanya's contemporary sisters and brothers — the children of Mylai and a hundred other Vietnamese villages and towns cut down by Nixon's forces. But Nixon and his Moscow hosts had not a word for them — only the most outrageous, obscene

hypocrisy!

"Soviet citizens have often asked me," said Nixon, "'Does America truly want peace?' I believe that our actions answer that question far better than any words could do ... "

And so they do. Nixon's actions — the genocidal assault on the people of Indochina — show that the U.S. rulers are the greatest enemies of peace.

But the actions of the anti-war movement — which was marching 15,000 strong in the streets of Washington as Nixon winged his way to Moscow — shows where the people of America stand.

Conference shows bankruptcy of Canadian Peace Congress

by CARL FLEMING

A national conference of the Canadian Peace Congress was held in Toronto on May 20-21. The conference was completely dominated by the "peaceful coexistence" policies of the Communist Party, and reflected no new growth for the shell of an organization which the CP periodically parades as a competitor to the antiwar movement.

Conference organizers claimed a registration of 129 delegates from across Canada, but independent observers estimate that no more than 70 were ever in attendance at any one time, and that the average age of delegates was well over 50.

Missing from the conference, for the first time since the Peace Congress was founded in 1949, was chairman Dr. James G. Endicott, who, along with the vice chairman, executive secretary and treasurer, quit the organization in January protesting Peace Congress support of the Indian invasion of Bangladesh laying charges that the organization was dominated and manipulated by the CP. The conference did not deal in any way with Endicott's charges.

Nor did the conference make any move towards unity with the main stream of the antiwar movement in the fight to defend the Vietnamese against the assault of U.S. imperialism. An appeal for unity of all antiwar forces was distributed to the the conference by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee (which had been excluded from the conference along with any other forces who might have opposed the CP line). The response? — the Congress did

not even join the VMC May 21 demonstration, instead sending a "solidarity" message which counterposed negotiations to the VMC's demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina.

A statement of the League for Socialist Action distributed to delegates explained the bankruptcy of the Peace Congress: "The line of peaceful coexistence has tied the Peace Congress to all the zigzags of Soviet diplomacy and deals with imperialism. It has meant that as Trudeau improved relations with the Soviet Union and invited Kosygin to visit Canada, the Peace Congress dumped opposition to Canada's criminal complicity in the Vietnam war and retreated from participation in the antiwar movement.

"Trying to revive the Peace Congress", the LSA statement concluded, "without drawing a balance sheet of the debacles of the past, and changing its politics, is like trying to bring Lazarus back to life.

"Let the dead bury the dead, and the living cast off the shroud of 'peaceful coexistence' and join the movements that are out to fight imperialism and win peace."

The Peace Congress did not take the LSA suggestion. Instead they proceeded as if nothing had happened, approving a line of action around demands for a negotiated settlement in Indochina and worldwide "detente."

Future efforts to build the Peace Congress into a viable organization will not be any more successful than those in the past.

Labor Challenge, June 5, 1972



WORLDWIDE PROTEST against Nixon's new escalation of the Indochina war. Top, part of Stockholm, Sweden demonstration of 12,000 on April 15. Center, Americans march down Constitution Ave., Washington May 21 in united demonstration of 15,000. Bottom, Cubans fill streets of Havana May 15. Continued protests can force Nixon out and aid Vietnamese in struggle for self-determination.

Into the streets against the war

The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on May 10.

The American decision to blockade the ports of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to destroy its lines of communication with China opens up a new and extremely dangerous stage in imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia.

The failure of the policy of "Vietnamization" is now obvious. The puppet Thieu's army is disintegrating. The powerful antiwar sentiment in the United States and among the GIs blocks the Pentagon from imposing the American fantasy of "Vietnamization" on the revolutionary Vietnamese fighters.

In this situation Nixon, speaking for the section of the American bourgeoisie that has decided to prevent the victory of the Vietnamese revolution no matter what the cost, might be tempted to use every means the air war places at his disposal in an effort to stop the revolutionary offensive: first the blockade, then the destruction of the cities,

then the bombing of the dikes — which would amount to a veritable act of genocide — then the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

By embarking on such a policy, which could lead to the brink of a third world war, American imperialism is also hoping that conservative reflexes will come into play in the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies and that they will increase their pressure on Hanoi to accept a diplomatic compromise that would cheat the Vietnamese revolution out of the ground victory within its reach. The reaction to the new crimes that the imperialists are committing and preparing to commit in Southeast Asia must be immediate and must reflect the utmost determination.

The working masses will never agree to let the spokesman for the Texas oil men prevent the peoples of the world from fighting for their national and social emancipation by issuing arrogant decrees backed up with weapons of extermination.

Into the streets to force an immediate halt to the bombings, the lifting of the blockade, and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S.

armed forces from Southeast Asia! Into the streets to proclaim our unyielding support to the heroic Vietnamese people and our determined opposition to the counterrevolutionary aggression of American imperialism!

Demand complete unity in action between the USSR, the People's Republic of China, and all the workers states in order to break the blockade of Hanoi and Haiphong.

Prepare for even stronger responses, for refusals to transport and produce weapons, ammunition, and materiel for the American armed forces in order to harass them in every part of the world in case of a new escalation.

Support the antiwar movement in the United States, which can play a decisive role in stopping the criminal aggression of the Pentagon.

Nixon's action reveals desperation. We must submit imperialist policy in Southeast Asia to continuous blows! By doing so, we will be helping to bring about the victory of the Vietnamese revolution!

Intercontinental Press

Counter Kremlin betrayal with antiwar protests

The following is excerpted from a statement released May 31 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938

The attitude assumed by the Kremlin in the face of the May escalation of the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam constitutes one of the most brazen and treacherous betrayals of the world revolution in the entire history of Stalinism.

Having proved incapable of throwing back the Vietnamese in their heroic advances on the battlefields of South Vietnam, having been forced to withdraw the bulk of the U.S. ground troops because of the stiffening opposition to the war among the American people, having been unable to maintain the pretense of "Vietnamization" of the war because of the spreading disintegration of the armies of the Saigon puppet regime, Nixon decided in cold blood to escalate the war to a qualitatively higher intensity in order to force the Vietnamese people to bow to an unfavourable compromise despite their resounding military victories. On May 8 Nixon announced that he had ordered all the harbors of North Vietnam to be mined and all transportation lines to be bombed up to the border of China.

While these colossal crimes were being committed, subjecting one of the most courageous peoples in the world to genocide, the Kremlin chieftans clinked champagne glasses with war criminal Nixon, as if they were toasting his deeds in Vietnam. They pictured their summit conference with Nixon as a "great success," a big step toward "world peace," while Nixon continued the most ferocious and barbarous acts of aggression.

The Democratic Republic of

Vietnam is part of the so-called socialist camp, whose security and inviolability the masters of the Kremlin have so many times guaranteed. Claiming the existence of an imperialist threat against the Czechoslovak workers state they sent 200,000 troops into that country in August, 1968. Their real reason for the invasion, of course, was to suppress the efforts that had begun there to replace Stalinist police rule with socialist democracy.

But in face of the unprecedented mass of napalm, antipersonnel bombs, and patterned bombing near the nuclear level in Vietnam, the masters of the Kremlin limited themselves to a few routine press releases while they publicly toasted the imperialist aggressors!

History has shown again and again that to concede to an aggressor does not lead to easing the situation in the long run; instead, it encourages the aggressor to engage in escalation. By telling Nixon that his attacks would result in the Vietnamese forces being supplied with all the means necessary to turn it back, the Soviet leaders could have stopped Nixon in his tracks. By refusing to take any concrete steps to halt the aggressor, the Kremlin leaders fall into the position of accomplices in the crimes of imperialism.

Once again the fatal logic of the policy of "peaceful coexistence" and of "socialism in one country" stands out in the clearest way. In order to save the international status of the revolution, the Kremlin cynically acquiesces in the genocide and destruction of Vietnam. At bottom they consider that they are acting in their own self-interest, for a successful revolution in Vietnam could encourage the growing political opposition inside the Soviet Union and perhaps help detonate a revolutionary process that would sweep them from power and restore the socialist democracy that Leon and Trotsky stood for.

The Fourth International calls upon all its members and sympathizers, upon all communists and revolutionaries throughout the world, to devote the utmost energy to helping organize the massive protest demonstrations against the imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

Bring the strongest possible pressure to bear on the Communist parties by spreading the truth about the latest Stalinist betrayals. Help pillory the Moscow and Peking regimes! Compel them to provide adequate support to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam!



ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATIONS SPREAD. Protesters march through Richmond Hill, a small community north of Toronto in solidarity with world protests on May 18. Future actions are planned by the antiwar movement in Ontario region, including a festival and rally July 8.

Close Suffield war base!

DAVE POHOLKO

A broad coalition, initiated by the prairie antiwar movement, has been formed in Edmonton, Alta. to build demonstrations against military training and research by the Defense Research Board at Suffield, a 1000-square mile military reserve in Southeastern Alberta.

Called the Suffield Coalition, the group includes such diverse forces as STOP (an anti-pollution group), the Voice of Women, the Edmonton affiliate group of the NDP, the Defenders and Wardens of Nature, the Young Socialists, the League for Socialist Action, the Edmonton chapter of the National and Provincial Parks Association, in addition to student and community antiwar committees.

An educational campaign about Suffield has been launched, to culminate in rallies in Medicine Hat and Suffield July 1 and 2.

Suffield labs have tested and helped develop defoliants, nerve gases, asphyxiating chemicals and poisons. Research goes on under the "Technical Cooperation Program" which makes all research data freely available to the U.S., Britain and Australia. Thus research and development in hideous chemical and biological warfare at Suffield — including improved napalm, CS gas and herbicides — has been introduced into active use by the U.S. in Vietnam.

Suffield continues to be a key component of Canada's criminal complicity in the crimes of U.S. aggression against the Indochinese people.

During World War II, a national park was taken over by the military, to become the Suffield establishment. It stands today as one of the last natural areas of mixed grass prairie left in North America. The area is the home of rare and endangered species (including peregrine falcons, golden eagles, bighorn antelopes and possibly kangaroo rats, cougars and the extremely rare kit fox). As well, there are an unknown number of important archeological sites (prehistoric campsites, buffalo camps and historic trails).

The Canadian Department of the Environment called Suffield "ecologically unique and diversified." This area ... would form a diverse park unit providing a broad ecological experience ..."

However, the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development effectively quashed the park



BRITISH TROOPS ARRIVE AT SUFFIELD. British troop training, possibly for future duty in Ireland, will destroy prairie grassland. Suffield is Canadian government center for research into chemical and biological weapons.

proposal in 1971: "Since the Department of National Defense has not indicated that any lands will become surplus to their requirement, there is no possibility at this time of establishing a national park on the Suffield range.

No room for a park — but only a few weeks later, the government announced that since two thirds of the area was not needed, it would be put to use by the British army for troop training, for possible duty in Ireland and elsewhere.

The first British forces have already arrived to tear up the area with tanks and trucks, to practice gunnery and artillery. Exploding shells will burn the grass; vehicles will weaken the topsoil, leading to water and wind erosion; unexploded shells will make the area a hazard for years, even if the military should some day pull out.

The Suffield Coalition, united around the demand to end military training and research at Suffield, demands that the establishment be turned into a national park and archaeological site with the facilities

used for environmental research.

Further information about the Suffield Coalition and the July 1-2 protests can be obtained from No. 31, 10612 - 97 Ave., Edmonton, Alta.

Two and a half Hiroshimas daily

by GEORGE ADDISON

"Craters pock every area of South Vietnam, forests, swamps, fields, paddies, roadsides. Certain areas, notably the 'free fire' or 'specific strike' zones show severe cratering. Reports by military observers speak of the landscape's being 'torn as if by an angry giant' and of areas of the green delta land's being pulverized into a 'gray porridge.'"

That is how biologists Arthur H. Westing and E. W. Pfeiffer describe what U.S. bombs are doing to Vietnam, in an article entitled "The Cratering of Indochina" in the May issue of *Scientific American*.

They point out that U.S. munitions exploded in Indochina from 1965 to 1971, amount to 26 billion lbs. — the equivalent of 450 Hiroshimas, or an average of 584 lbs. of explosives per person.

And the U.S. has now stepped up the bombing considerably in a desperate attempt to push back the current liberation offensive. Raphael Littauer, who coordinated a study of the air war by scientists at Cornell University, estimates that U.S. B-52 bombers fly the equivalent of 10 six-plane missions a day over Indochina. That represents a daily bombing force two and a half times as great as the Hiroshima bomb.

The bombing is far from over. U.S. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird admitted to the U.S. Congress on June 5 that the war could go on at about the present level for five more



years.

Laird was asking for \$3 to \$5 billion more a year for the war budget. Under questioning by the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, Laird admitted that the latest escalation is costing an extra \$16.7 million a day. That will boost the U.S. military budget to \$83 billion next year.

\$83 billion a year for destruction of the land, the crops, the forests and the people of Vietnam!

Coming only a few days after Nixon's "historic" visit to Moscow and eastern Europe, the stepup of bombing, and Laird's request for more money to build up the war clearly shows that the Moscow summit agreements did not in any way serve to restrain Nixon's war against the people of Vietnam.

In brief

VIETNAMESE FREEDOM FIGHTERS TOUR CANADA

Huynh Van Ba, a representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and Tran Viet Thanh, a Vietnamese trade unionist, are presently touring Canada. Van Ba spoke to a meeting of more than 500 people in Toronto, June 12, describing the continuing struggle of the people of Vietnam, denouncing U.S. intervention in his country, and demanding that the U.S. go home.

The main Canadian antiwar coalition, the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, had been excluded from sponsorship and participation in the meeting by the organizers, dominated by the Communist Party. They carefully structured the meeting to ban any sort of intervention from anyone but the official speakers. Even questions had to be written and submitted in advance.

But they couldn't squelch the militancy of the meeting. Time after time the audience picked up the VMC chant "U.S. Out Now." The chairman reluctantly apologized for the error in excluding the VMC, and added the VMC as an official sponsor.

After the Vietnamese speaker, the meeting organizers presented a declaration for a "negotiated settlement" in Vietnam. But George Addison, former executive secretary of the VMC, took the podium to propose an amendment. The meeting voted two-to-one to let Addison speak. The VMC amendment, demanding immediate, unconditional withdraw of all U.S. forces and materiel from Indochina, and the building of mass united actions in defense of Vietnamese self-determination, carried overwhelmingly.

LATIN AMERICANS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST WAR

Recent weeks have seen massive anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations in a number of countries of Latin America. On May 17, more than 25,000 persons marched in Mexico City against the war, in a protest organized by the Mobilization Committee for Vietnam, a coalition of 38 student and political organizations. This was the first demonstration in Mexico City since a massacre last June 10, where a demonstration was attacked by fascist-like goons in collaboration with the police.

On May 19, the first antiwar demonstration ever held in Lima, Peru, saw 25,000 march in a united front protest, demanding "Yankees out of Vietnam."

Elsewhere, large demonstrations in Argentina, Chile and Venezuela have been held to protest Nixon's escalation of the war.

Moscow, Peking betray Vietnamese struggle

by JOHN WILSON

"What we are seeing in Moscow could turn out to be one of the smoothest sellouts in diplomatic history. . . Moscow has given Nixon the green light to escalate the air war and carry out the blockade as he pleases." So wrote the noted liberal journalist and longtime opponent of the Vietnam war, I.F. Stone, in the June 15 New York Review of Books.

And the diplomatic maneuvers are well underway. Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny made a four day visit to Hanoi, and Nixon's top adviser Henry Kissinger went to Peking for talks with the Chinese leaders.

On his return from North Vietnam (Nixon stopped bombing Hanoi while he was in the city, then resumed the destruction as soon as he was out of the way), Podgorny told reporters, "Everything went as I wanted. . . I am very happy with the outcome. . .

"The Soviet Union will do everything possible for a de-escalation of the Vietnam war," said the Soviet leader.

But what the Soviet and Chinese maneuvers have brought about is far from "de-escalation." In the long and bloody history of imperialist counter-revolutionary wars, the destructive power rained down on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) since May 8 is without precedent. It is almost impossible to grasp the extent of the devastation wrought by U.S. bombing.

Three U.S. B-52s can flatten an area more than half a mile wide and nearly two miles long. There are at present more than 100 B-52s and over 1,000 U.S. warplanes attacking Vietnam every day.

This is a product of Washington's desperation to shore up the puppet regime in Saigon in the face of the spectacular victories of the revolutionary forces.

According to Neil Sheehan, writing in the June 10 New York Times, "military commanders are free to strike designated military targets in the restricted and buffer zones whenever they feel the need to do so."

In a word, anything goes. The North Vietnamese report extensive bombing of irrigation dikes as well as coastal dikes holding back the sea. They report that a total of 580 bombs were dropped on their dikes

been given to the Washington war makers than the cynical opportunism of Moscow and Peking. Pursuing their detente with U.S. imperialism at any cost, they are preparing a monstrous betrayal.

With articles in the Soviet press talking about "negotiations" as the answer to imperialist aggression, who can doubt the purpose of Podgorny's visit to Hanoi — or that of Kissinger to Peking?

In a statement printed in the June



Crewmen aboard USS Constellation push 500-pound bombs to aircraft. Soviet support to Hanoi is tiny compared to massive U.S. war drive.

between April 10 and May 24.

The U.S. command in Saigon claimed June 25 that it had wrecked North Vietnam's only modern steel plant, halting all production. Power plants, including one which reportedly is capable of providing 75 percent of the country's electrical capacity, factories, bridges, roads, schools, hospitals and residential areas are all under attack in a calculated effort to cripple the economy.

In this obscene process, no greater encouragement could possibly have

7 New York Times, no less than Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's former chief of state, reported that the Soviet Union has proposed a Geneva-type conference to settle the Indochina war. It was at just such a conference in 1954 that their Soviet and Chinese "allies" pressured the Vietnamese to accept an imperialist foothold in "South Vietnam." This betrayal paved the way for another 18 years of slaughter, as the Pentagon used the Saigon regime as a base for counter-revolution in Southeast Asia.

← p. 1

According to the Times, Sihanouk stated that North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front and the Pathet Lao all oppose a new Geneva conference and that he has asked China to do the same.

In a conversation with Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times June 16, Chinese premier Chou En-lai praised former U.S. president Eisenhower for his actions "ending" the Korean war — which resulted in the permanent division of Korea and continued U.S. occupation of the South.

I.F. Stone succinctly summarized the role of the Kremlin and Peking bureaucrats in this searing indictment: "To speak plainly, the chief running dogs of U.S. imperialism now seem to be Brezhnev and Chou En-lai.

"... Without the enormous resolution and courage of the Vietnamese, what would Moscow and Peking have to offer Nixon, what would they have to sell? Peking bought its admission to the United Nations, bought its way out of containment, with the blood of the Vietnamese people. The same commodity — in such plentiful supply — has brought Nixon to Moscow."

Stone points out that the USSR has a fleet of 320 minesweepers, the world's largest. Yet it has made no attempt to clear the blockade of Haiphong harbor.

Stone further says that, "The Russians are even insisting privately that Vietnam is an 'American problem.'"

That the defense of Vietnam is next to last on the list of priorities in Moscow and Peking is indicated in a number of other equally material ways.

The pitifully small Soviet aid to Hanoi is about one-tenth that given to the capitalist Egyptian government by the so-called "socialist countries." Mao Tsetung, while

seemingly unable to give any substantial aid to North Vietnam, come up with \$300 million worth of military hardware — the reactionary government of Pakistan, headed by Zulfikar Bhutto, mass murderer of the people of Bangladesh.

It should by now be glaringly apparent to all but the most obtuse that the privileged bureaucrats of the Soviet Union and China are more concerned with their shabby diplomatic alliances than with the fate of the Vietnamese people. For them, the Vietnamese revolution is only a pawn in a cynical international chess game with imperialism.

Despite the betrayal of their "allies," the Vietnamese revolution has two powerful factors that stand in the way of Nixon's plans. One is the almost incredible determination and tenacity of the Vietnamese revolutionists themselves reflected in the fact that the leadership in Hanoi has yet to make any concessions to the pressure of imperialism.

On the contrary, the North Vietnamese press has publicly, and directly, rebuked Moscow:

"Communists... never sacrifice national interests against the interests of the world revolution. They much less serve their own selfishness."

"By ignoring and tolerating the U.S. imperialists' crimes, they cannot repel their aggression. Showing weakness, one must punish their aggressiveness."

The other factor is the mounting sentiment across the world over the genocidal assault in Southeast Asia. The mobilization of this sentiment into a global anti-imperialist movement in the streets is the key to forcing the withdrawal of Washington's murder machine from Southeast Asia and the victory of the Indochinese revolution.

Interview

Blanco on Vietnam and Latin America



Hugo Blanco



PERU'S FIRST ANTIWAR MARCH. Between 25,000 and 30,000 demonstrated in Lima May 19 against the war in Southeast Asia.

#60 July 17 1972

taboo

Challenge

Nixon talks 'peace' bombs Vietnamese

page 4



U.S. BOMBING has obliterated whole sections of Vietnam countryside.

Nixon's summitry and the bombing of Vietnam

The following article is abridged from the July 10 Intercontinental Press.

The diplomatic maneuvers between Moscow, Peking and the U.S. described by Hansen continue despite one of the most murderous bombing assaults in the history of warfare. "Most Americans thought it grotesque and horrifying when Gen. Curtis LeMay spoke in 1965 of bombing the North Vietnamese 'back into the Stone Age.'" Anthony Lewis wrote in the New York Times July 3. "But something very like that is happening right now."

The Swedish ambassador to Hanoi has accused the U.S. of pursuing "a policy of annihilation," in dropping "antipersonnel bombs on housing areas, schools and hospitals."

Now eyewitnesses report that the dike system is being bombed, threatening devastating flooding of the country.

by JOSEPH HANSEN

To find a parallel in cynicism to the summit conference staged by Nixon and Brezhnev May 22-29, it is necessary to go back to the eve of World War II, when Stalin made his pact with Hitler and boasted that it was a historical contribution to "peace."

However, the ceremonies accompanying the signing of even that agreement were more restrained than the Nixon-Brezhnev show. In 1939 Ribbentrop for the Germans

and Molotov for the Russians were designated to sign the historic scrap of paper. Stalin stood modestly in the back-ground; Hitler was not even present. In 1972, Nixon and Brezhnev clinked champagne glasses while the Pentagon brought the U.S. air war in Vietnam to new heights of destructiveness and mass murder. Within minutes after the newscasts on the great step taken toward "peace" by Nixon and Brezhnev, the television screens switched to scenes of the escalated bombing in Vietnam.

In 1939 the Kremlin pictured German-Soviet friendship as having been "cemented in blood." Brezhnev, if he wished, could repeat that boast with even greater justification in relation to Nixon in 1972.

Nixon stands up to 'bullying'

To properly weigh the attitude of the Kremlin at the summit conference, it is necessary to recall some key preceding events.

Nixon began escalating the bombings during the first part of the year. On March 23 he canceled the Paris peace talks, explaining the following day that he had done this because the Vietnamese had been using the talks as a means of "bullying the United States."

The truth was that the Vietnamese



CLINKING GLASSES in Moscow with U.S. President Nixon. Soviet bureaucrats gave green light for increased U.S. assault on Vietnam. Both Moscow and Peking are pressuring Vietnam to accept "settlement" of war on U.S. terms.

had succeeded in the talks, as elsewhere, in gaining sympathy by refusing to kowtow to Nixon's bullying. For Nixon, who required a victory and a settlement on his terms to justify his four-year course of keeping up the war, the talks had become an embarrassment.

On March 30, one week after Nixon's cancellation of the Paris talks, the Vietnamese launched their massive counteroffensive. If they had chosen to use the terminology of the Pentagon, they could have called it a "protective reaction ground strike."

They scored impressive victories. In particular, they exposed the fraudulent nature of Nixon's "Vietnamization" program. The Saigon puppet armies disintegrated in face of the advancing liberation forces.

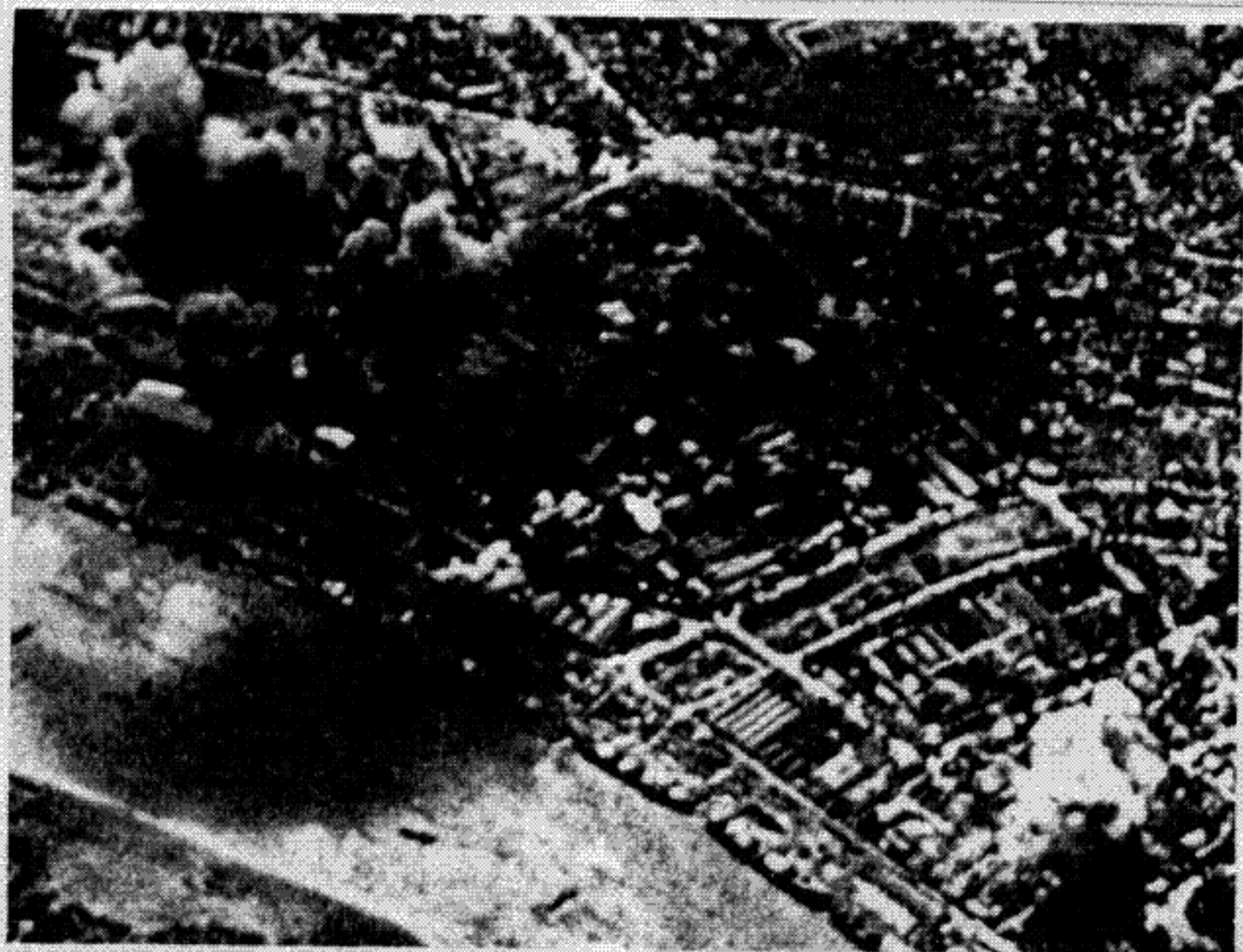
Nixon responded by ordering the most massive bombing in history.

In the United States the antiwar movement scored an impressive achievement with the nationwide April 22 demonstrations. Similar demonstrations in many other countries showed that the antiwar movement was responding internationally to the need to express greater solidarity with the Vietnamese.

As the North Vietnamese continued to gain victories, the White House appeared to be caught in a crisis. Nixon delivered a most belligerent speech April 26. He reentered the Paris talks only to leave again within days.

On May 8 Nixon delivered his infamous speech announcing his intention to "interdict" all shipment of supplies to the Vietnamese. He had ordered the harbors of North Vietnam to be mined. He had ordered the overland supply lines from China bombed so as to make them unusable.

In the same speech Nixon singled



BOMBING VIETNAM INTO STONE AGE. U.S. bombs strike Haiphong.

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out the Kremlin for a specific warning. He in effect ordered Stalin's heirs to stand aside while he proceeded to pour such fire power on North Vietnam as to wipe that country off the face of the earth unless Hanoi capitulated. At the same time he dangled a carrot—he was still willing to go ahead with the projected summit conference.

The Johnson administration considered mining the ports of North Vietnam but refrained because of the exceedingly dangerous nature of the gamble. It could touch off a vigorous response from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, the powerful allies of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Nixon also refrained for the same reason during the preceding years of his administration. What led him to think he could now get away with it?

A triumph for Maoism

The answer is to be found in the conclusions Nixon drew from his trip to Peking Feb. 21-27. Even before that trip, Nixon could judge the attitude of the Mao regime toward the Vietnamese by one telling fact (not to mention others) — the decline in military assistance ("from \$145 million in 1967 to \$75 million last year," according to C.L. Sulzberger in the May 24, 1972, New York Times). Nixon, however, put Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai to the acid test.

In the weeks before his departure, he stepped up the bombings in Indochina. During his stay in Peking, he kept up the bombings.

The response of Mao and Chou was up to Nixon's fondest hopes. It was to be seen in the television spectacular of wining and dining and clinking of glasses while napalm splashed on Vietnamese civilians.

Nixon's hosts thus gave him the green light to do whatever he liked in Vietnam. His decision some two months later to mine the harbors of North Vietnam can thus be marked down as one of the results of the Maoist policy of seeking "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism.

There were other consequences. The reception given Nixon in Peking released Brezhnev and Kosygin from all restraint in following their own policy of bidding for "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism.

The two summit conferences in Peking and Moscow thus represented a widening of the rift between China and the Soviet Union at the expense of North Vietnam and

the Vietnam revolution. Instead of closing ranks against the common foe, they were now vying for favors from U.S. imperialism.

"Winding down the war"

Nixon won office on the promise that he had a "secret plan" to end the war. The secret plan turned out to be nothing but a scheme to stall for time in hope that a military victory could be achieved.

The opposition to the war, particularly in the United States, compelled Nixon nonetheless to make a considerable concession — gradual withdrawal of American ground forces.

In compensation for this, however, Nixon escalated the air war. The official records in Washington show that during the Johnson administration, U.S. planes dumped 3,100,000 tons of bombs on Indochina. Since Nixon assumed office, U.S. planes have dumped more than 3,400,000 tons. In this field, Nixon caught up with and outdid the war criminal of the Democratic party.

Cuba and North Vietnam

Without waging an open struggle, the Cuban government has indicated its opposition to the summitry carried on by Peking and Moscow. During Nixon's trip to Peking, the Cuban press gave greater publicity, as was proper, to the continued bombing of Indochina than it did to the various summit talks.

At a news conference in Sofia on May 26, while Nixon was in Moscow, Fidel Castro was asked about a report in a Mexican newspaper that he would meet with Nixon in Warsaw on June 1. "There is nothing to talk to Nixon about," he said.

Despite their feelings, the Cubans will not put up a vigorous opposition to the Kremlin's policy of seeking "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. Because of the nearness of their island to the U.S., they are exceptionally vulnerable to military attack. Without heavy outlays in material aid, including military equipment, from the Soviet Union, the Cuban revolution would have been crushed long ago. The U.S. blockade has made Cuba even more dependent on Soviet supplies. One of the prices exacted by the Kremlin for this aid has been political concessions from the Cuban leaders.

In addition, the Cubans have floundered in their efforts to extend their revolution to the rest of Latin America, oscillating between fostering the schema of guerrilla war and crossing class lines. This

has weakened their base of support in the Western Hemisphere and made them more vulnerable to pressure from Moscow.

The position of the North Vietnamese government is much like the one held by the Cubans. Articles have appeared in the Hanoi press indicating opposition to the betrayals committed by Peking and Moscow.

Up to now, the Vietnamese have expressed only muted opposition to the course of "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism set by Moscow and Peking. One of the reasons is their excruciating dependence on Moscow and Peking for military equipment and other material aid. Another reason is that they have not yet settled accounts with Stalinism.

Are they resourceful enough to mount telling pressure on their two giant allies? This remains to be seen. It is to be noted, however, that during both the Peking and Moscow summit meetings they made no attempt to create a scandal that might have embarrassed Nixon's hosts.

What is to be expected instead is that enormous pressure to meet Nixon's terms will be exerted on Hanoi by both the two giant allies. On this Peking and Moscow have succeeded in reaching de facto agreement. In return for small favors from Nixon, they are working in concert against the Vietnamese revolution. They have made a united front on a single issue. This was the meaning of Soviet President Nikolai V. Podgorny's trip to Hanoi June 16-18. He came as an agent not only of Brezhnev but of Mao and of Nixon.

The antiwar movement

The most effective support to the Vietnamese national liberation struggle has come from the international antiwar movement that formed around the slogan "U.S. Troops Out Now!" and that has sought since 1965 to mobilize nonexclusive mass demonstrations in the streets to further this objective.

Nixon's announcement May 8 that he had ordered the mining of the harbors of North Vietnam met with an immediate reaction from antiwar activists. Preparations went ahead at an accelerated pace for nationwide demonstrations in the U.S. May 21. Similar actions elsewhere in the world were given fresh impetus.

Alarm swept sections of the American ruling class over Nixon's

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risking a showdown with Moscow and over what might develop out of the upsurge in the antiwar movement.

The incipient crisis failed to develop thanks to Nixon's collaborators in the Kremlin. On May 11 the Soviet government issued a statement that (1) criticized the mining of North Vietnam's ports, (2) did not assert the right of North Vietnam's allies to continue shipping material aid and military equipment to the beleaguered country, (3) did not warn of countermeasures unless Nixon deactivated his mines, (4) did not encourage antiwar demonstrations.

Moscow's refusal to stand up to Nixon's "bullying" tactics seriously injured the antiwar movement. It served to decrease the size of the May 21 demonstrations, for the sense of urgency was gone. Still worse, instead of helping to raise the political level of those concerned about ending the war by encouraging them to engage in significant action in the streets — an extraparliamentary action — the Kremlin's decision to appease Nixon set this process back.

According to a Harris poll released June 27, the American people approved Nixon's summit meeting in Moscow by 82 percent.

"As occurred in the wake of Nixon's earlier visit to Peking," Louis Harris said, "the Moscow summit journey appears to be paying Nixon handsome political dividends. He increased his lead over his prospective opponents for the White House from 2 to 12 points as a direct result of his achievements in Russia."

The poll showed nonetheless that on a deeper level Nixon has not convinced the American people that his summitry has changed the world situation. By 50-32 percent, a majority were dubious of the claim that "the likelihood of other wars has been diminished." A majority of 51-31 percent did not feel that "we are closer to a settlement in Vietnam" as a result of the Moscow summit meeting. And by 47-32 percent, a plurality of the American people remained unconvinced that "the world is a more peaceful place to live in."

Clearly, despite all the difficulties, the antiwar movement is duty bound to continue its work along the same lines that have already had such



REFUGEES flee battle zones in South Vietnam.

impact. "U.S. Troops Out Now!"

The Fourth International

The world Trotskyist movement, organized in the Fourth International, has stood in the forefront of the struggle in defense of the

Vietnamese revolution. It has followed developments with the utmost attention, utilizing the Marxist method to reach key conclusions. Its forecasts have stood the test of time.

For the world Trotskyist movement, the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam has constituted the central international issue since 1965 when Johnson escalated the war. It still considers it the central international issue.

Again and again and again it has pointed to the danger that U.S. intervention in Vietnam could touch off World War III. It has called attention to the fiendish weapons the Pentagon has been testing out in Vietnam. From the beginning it has warned that the assault on Vietnam constitutes an assault on all the other workers states; and year after year it has urged the Soviet and Chinese governments to grant adequate material aid to the Vietnamese and to close ranks against the common enemy.

The world Trotskyist movement recognizes that it requires substantial forces to cause U.S. im-

perialism to pull out of Indochina and that these can be assembled only among the ranks of the workers and their allies. That is why the Trotskyists have persisted in pressing for mass mobilizations. This course also represents the most effective way in the current

situation to advance revolutionary socialism and to build the revolutionary party required for a socialist victory.

The betrayals of the Vietnamese revolution by the Chinese and Russian bureaucrats at the two summit meetings have made the tasks facing the Trotskyists more difficult. But the betrayals have also served to educate many revolutionists who still had confidence in the two centers. They will move toward the Trotskyist movement, which has never wavered in its support of the Vietnamese revolution.

The Vietnamese have provided the world with an imperishable example of courage and heroism in holding

out against overwhelming odds. Millions have been moved by what they have done. The example of the Vietnamese has helped inspire fresh revolutionary outbursts around the globe. Even in the United States their example is sinking into the minds of the people. These are omens of the coming doom of U.S. imperialism.

Rally protests Canadian war research

by DAVE POHOLKO

EDMONTON, ALTA. — On the July 1-2 Dominion Day weekend, more than one hundred people, representing groups from Toronto to Vancouver, rallied in Medicine Hat and Suffield, Alberta to protest the real face of the Trudeau government: the chemical and biological warfare researcher "par excellence" and provider of sandboxes for the British tank corps to play in. The rallies, which included a number of local people were organized by the Edmonton Suffield Coalition around the slogan of "End military training and research at Suffield."

While the rallies were numerically smaller than a previous "camp-in" held at Suffield two years ago, the forces represented there were far broader and represented a qualitative change in the struggle against Canadian complicity in the Vietnam war and continued membership in such military alliances as NATO and NORAD. For the first time since the Amchitka demonstrations of last November,

the antiwar movement was joined in the streets by the ecology movement, under a slogan directed specifically against the government and its military establishment — the people really responsible for the hideous research into better ways of killing with chemical and biological agents.

This same government must now be held responsible for the ecological damage to the Suffield Military Reserve that will be caused by British tanks and guns that will be there every summer for the next ten years.

The first rally, held in Medicine Hat July 1, heard speeches by Dave Poholko, Chairman of the Edmonton Suffield Coalition; Bob Sims, a representative from the Vancouver Suffield Coalition, which organized a support demonstration of 150 in Vancouver on June 28; and Sean Keane from Belfast, Ireland, representing the Irish Republican Clubs. Following the speeches, workshops concerning the antiwar movement and Suffield, and ecology and Suffield were held.

The ecology workshop, composed largely of people from the Medicine Hat area, discussed the necessity of demanding that the government

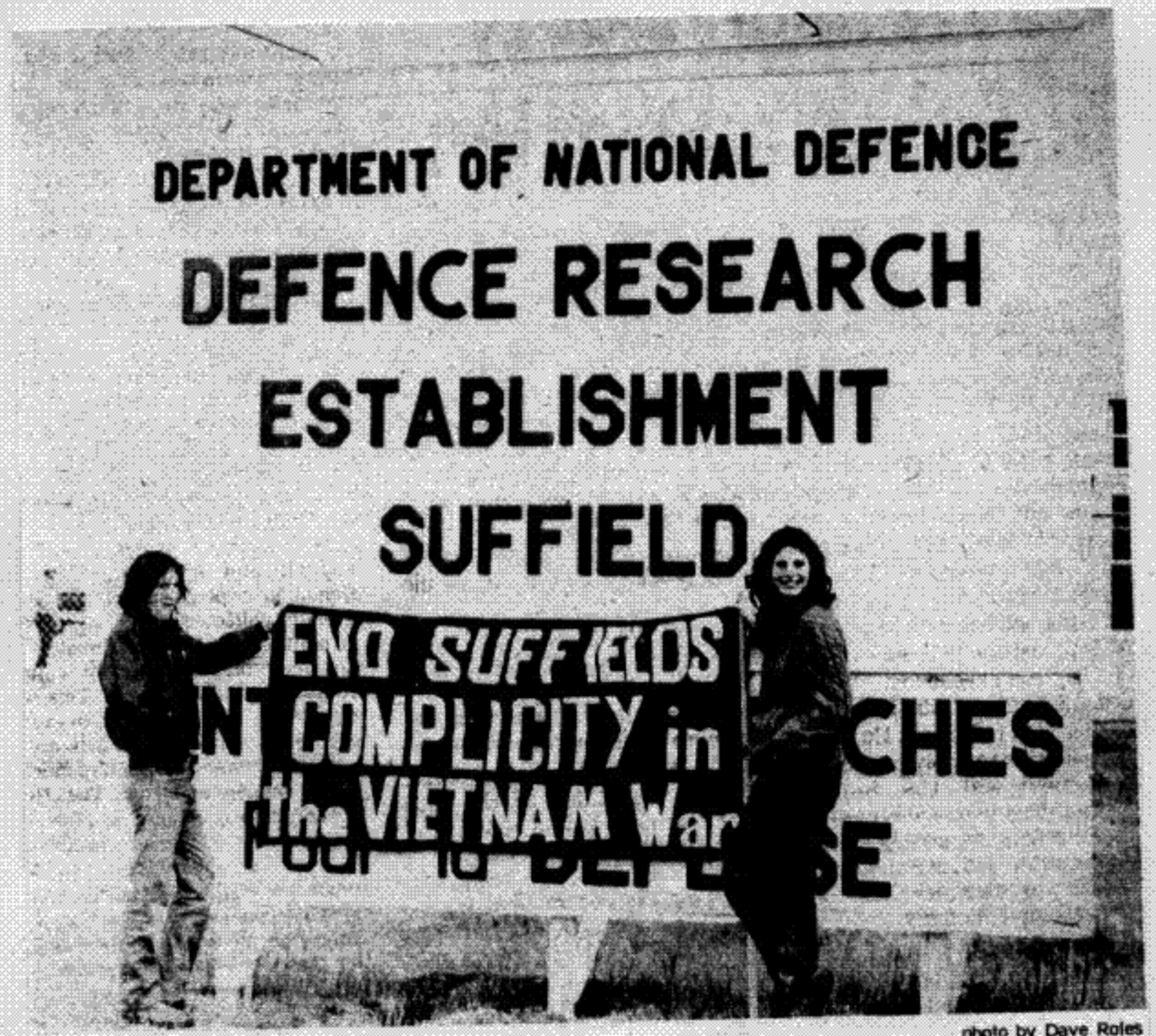


photo by Dave Roles

"Open Suffield" to an independent commission of biologists, ecologists and local ranchers (who know every stream and hill of the area because they grew up there) so that the Canadian public can be made aware of the real damage that is being done to the area.

The antiwar workshop discussed the importance of further actions in order to keep the forces that the coalitions in Edmonton and Vancouver had gathered together. It specifically recommended that actions against Suffield be held across the prairies around Hiroshima and Nagasaki Day August 6-9. The discussion also dealt with ways of expanding the anti-Suffield campaign to include other research centers like the one at Shirley Bay, Ont., outside Ottawa, and bases like Camp Gagetown, New Brunswick, where British commando units are training. If this campaign is taken up by the Canadian antiwar movement, the slogan "End Canada's Complicity" will take on new, very concrete meaning and provide the opportunity of involving thousands more Canadians in future demonstrations against the Vietnam war.

A second rally, July 2, was held outside the gates of Canadian Forces Base Suffield. Formerly, the reserve went under the name of Defense

Research Establishment Suffield (DRES) but it was changed into a Canadian Forces Base specifically so that the British troops could make use of the 1,000 square miles of terrain for maneuvers.

The rally was addressed by Larry MacKillop, a vice-president of the Alberta New Democratic Party; Sharon Romauldi from the Toronto Vietnam Mobilization Committee; Dave Roles of the Edmonton Defenders and Wardens of Nature; Mark Priegert for the Young Socialists and League for Socialist Action; Sean Keane, who revealed some interesting facts about Canadian investments in Northern Ireland; Larry Panych from the Prairie Student Mobilization Committee; and Bill MacDonald, president of Local 15 of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada. Labor support for the action was particularly significant.

The broadness of the speakers platform and the lists of groups who support the Suffield Coalitions attests to the wide support that can be built for the antiwar movement's demand to "End Canada's Complicity" if blatant examples of that complicity like the Suffield base are made the focal point of the campaign. July 1-2 was only the beginning.

labor **Challenge**

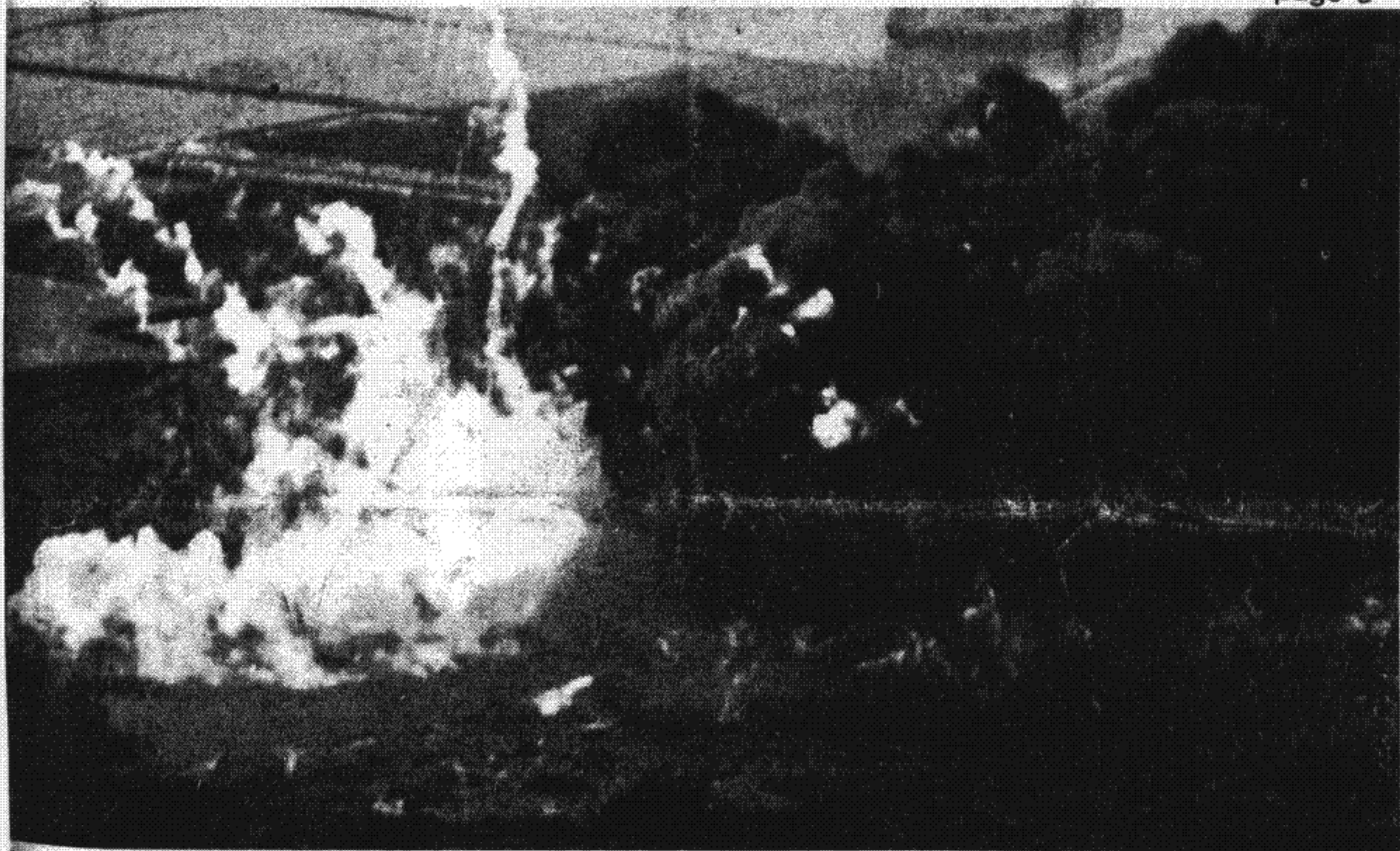
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Vietnamese stand firm as Nixon bombs dikes

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U.S. bombing of Vietnam each day is equivalent to 2½ times the explosive force of Hiroshima atomic blast.

U.S. bombing Vietnamese dikes

by GEORGE ADDISON

"The dike in many places has been cut in half and there are huge fissures running across the top of it ... I saw with my own eyes that in this city (Nam Dinh), which is the textile capital of Vietnam, there are no military targets." This was part of a statement by American actress Jane Fonda, presently touring Vietnam, giving the lie to official Washington claims that: (1) it was

not bombing the Vietnamese dikes; or (2) it was bombing the dikes only when fired upon by missiles stationed on the dikes; or (3) the dikes are falling apart because of previous damage; or (4) there is so much bombing of Vietnam that the dikes may have been "accidentally" bombed.

Fonda's eyewitness account of the bombing was underscored by a number of western journalists: Agence France-Presse correspondent Jean Thoroval witnessed a number of bombings, of dikes, whose destruction would mean annihilation of Vietnamese industry and population. The Swedish ambassador to Hanoi warned of "an immense catastrophe" if the rivers continue to rise. American columnist Joseph Kraft, in a dispatch from Hanoi, in the July 21 Toronto Star, said he had seen two examples of U.S. bombing of the dikes.

Combined with these revelations is the disclosure by Seymour Hersh in the July 3, 4 and 9 New York Times, that the U.S. government has been engaged for at least nine years in artificially increasing rainfall in Indochina, and have produced a cloud-seeding chemical that produces "rain that had an acidic quality to it and it would foul up mechanical equipment." There is no information as to what this "rain" does to people.

Further revelations of the new type of devastation being brought to Vietnam by U.S. imperialism are attempts to start fire storms (reported in the weekly American magazine Science), and the Vietnamese accusation that the U.S. is using lethal "toxic chemical" bombs and artillery shells.

All in all, Nixon's present assault on Vietnam, both North and South, represents the biggest concentration of firepower in history. The United



Contrary to Nixon's denials that U.S. is bombing North Vietnam dikes, the above photo taken

June 18 in Nan Ha province, south of Hanoi, shows a partially destroyed dike.

States is out to destroy Vietnam.

Perhaps the words "heroism" and "determination" are too hackneyed to describe the response of the Vietnamese people to Nixon's attacks. The words are certainly inadequate. Joseph Kraft gives us something of a picture of the attitude of the Vietnamese: "I have seen an old man standing in the ruins of his devastated home, mourning the loss of his wife, his only son and his grandson, and vowing, as he shook his fists to the heavens, that his heart would always be 'hardened with hatred' against the Americans.

"The end result of all this," Kraft continued, "is a particularly grim kind of determination. The North Vietnamese have become convinced that fighting is a matter of life or death, that they have no alternative. They believe that if they keep fighting they will prevail, no matter what the cost."

Kraft's visit to Vietnam had a deep impact on him. "I came to North Vietnam early this month to assess the outlook for peace in the wake of President Nixon's recent diplomatic, military and political moves. I wind up my trip feeling that an early political settlement is possible.

"But it is not probable," says Kraft, "and only possible on condition that Nixon abandon the pressure policy that has dominated his approach to Vietnam."

Kraft's assessment of the determination of the Vietnamese is borne out by their positions at the recently resumed Paris peace talks.

The talks opened with Hanoi's chief negotiator Xuan Thuy saying: "If the United States shows a desire to negotiate it is necessary to stop these acts of war." Madame Binh, representing the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, detailed the extent of the murderous air assault on her country.

After secret talks in Paris with Nixon's top adviser Henry Kissinger, a Vietnamese spokesman called the talks fruitless: "The Nixon administration has persisted up to now in its position of aggression and neo-colonialism." Later Xuan Thuy said that a ceasefire could only take place after agreement was reached on all military and political questions.

But Nixon's reply has been only more bombs.

While U.S. airpower may be quite successful in laying waste Vietnam, it is still remarkably unsuccessful in forcing the Vietnamese to abandon their resistance. Whether they will be able to continue to fight back depends greatly on continued mass actions by the worldwide antiwar movement.



Jane Fonda

U.S.-Moscow detente behind Egyptian moves

by KEN MOORE

On July 18, Anwar Sadat, president of Egypt, announced the expulsion of an estimated 20,000 Soviet advisers from his country. An airlift of Soviet personnel began the next day.

These developments come out of a series of complex diplomatic maneuvers and high-level conferences since Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union in May.

What is behind the Soviet and Egyptian actions, which seriously undermine Egypt's ability to resist the Zionist state of Israel's continued occupation of Arab lands since the 1967 six-day war?

The primary element in the recent moves was the Nixon-Brezhnev talks in Moscow last May. Robert Reguly, writing in the July 20 Toronto Star, quotes a senior Arab diplomat as saying that Nixon promised to pressure Israel into a peace settlement after the U.S. election in November, in return for the expulsion of Soviet advisers. This suggests that the Kremlin had agreed beforehand not to fight the expulsion, Reguly says, and that Israel has given some sort of tacit agreement.

The Soviet Union has no interest in an actual war in the Middle East. It provides military backing to Egypt only to gain diplomatic influence in the area.

The United States, for its part, has consistently backed the Zionist state of Israel. But it also seeks to exercise influence with the bourgeois Arab regimes, and does not want to see the present status quo disturbed. Nixon sees a settlement in the Middle East as only part of a general

detente with Moscow and Peking — which centers on using Soviet and Chinese pressure to force the Vietnamese liberation fighters to accept a peace settlement on U.S. terms.

Only the Arab masses have an interest in altering the balance of power — to reclaim their homes from the Zionist occupation and break the stranglehold of imperialism on the Arab countries.

What of Sadat then? Is he really bucking Soviet pressure for a Middle East deal with the U.S. and Israel?

The Egyptian regime is torn between responding to the overwhelming public sentiment for recapturing the land lost to Israel during the six-day war of 1967, and its own conservative instincts of the bourgeois state which lead it to seek a deal with Israel. Thus Sadat declared 1971 to be the "year of decision," then at the end of the year announced his "decision" — that there was no alternative to war with Israel. But what has resulted has been only more hollow demagoguery.

Reguly quotes diplomatic sources to suggest that Sadat's dramatic move was made at this time to prepare Egyptian public opinion for an abrupt reversal of Egypt's stance of "no direct negotiations" with Israel.

It is doubtful that Sadat will be able to win over Arab public opinion to an accommodation with Israel. He will need all the "advice" he can get from the thousands of Soviet advisers he has allowed to remain in Egypt — they are attached to the military intelligence and police force.

Labor Challenge, July 31, 1972 - 5

Korea: pressure on Vietnam

by GEORGE ADDISON

In an agreement preceded by several overtures from North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung, earlier this year, the North and South Korean governments issued a joint communique July 4 announcing their "common desire to achieve peaceful unification of the fatherland as early as possible."

The joint communique listed three principles for unification: non-interference from outside, non-use of force," and the "transcending of differences in ideas, ideologies and systems."

The agreement is understood to recognize the right of the 43,000 U.S. occupation troops to remain in the South, under the cover of the United Nations.

This agreement, which came as a surprise to most observers, can be viewed as a byproduct of the Nixon trip to Peking and the detente between Mao and Nixon. Certainly the cues on the application of the theory of "peaceful coexistence" emanating from the Nixon-Mao talks were picked up in the Korean agreement.

A New York Times dispatch carried in the July 5 Globe and Mail reports the pleasure with which the Nixon administration greeted the agreement. The Times quotes one senior Washington official saying that Hanoi must be feeling out in the cold. He said that with Peking, Pyongyang and Moscow all talking about better relations with their traditional rivals, pressure may build up in North Vietnam to end the war.

It is clear that the Korean agreement has further isolated the Vietnamese, and is bringing further pressure to bear on them to modify their intransigence in the face of U.S. imperialism's brutal assault.

Editorials

No more Hiroshimas!

August 6 and 9 mark the anniversary of the first, and so far, the only use of atomic weapons in war. On those days in 1945, the United States dropped A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, blasting humanity into the nuclear age.

At the time, the bombing was hailed in most circles, from Liberal Prime Minister Mackenzie King who lauded the U.S. for using the bomb on the Japanese rather than "the white races of Europe," to the Communist party (Labor Progressive Party), whose newspaper headline read: "USSR, Atom bomb KO Japan warlords." Most people, with the sole exception of the revolutionary socialists, believed the claims of U.S. president Truman who justified the bomb as forcing Japan to capitulate and thus "saving lives."

The truth is that Japan had already offered to surrender, and end World War II. The bomb was U.S. imperialism's warning to the masses of the world, that their fate would be no different from the 300,000 who died at Hiroshima and Nagasaki — if they dared to rise up against imperialism.

We have lived under that cloud for 27 years now. What has changed?

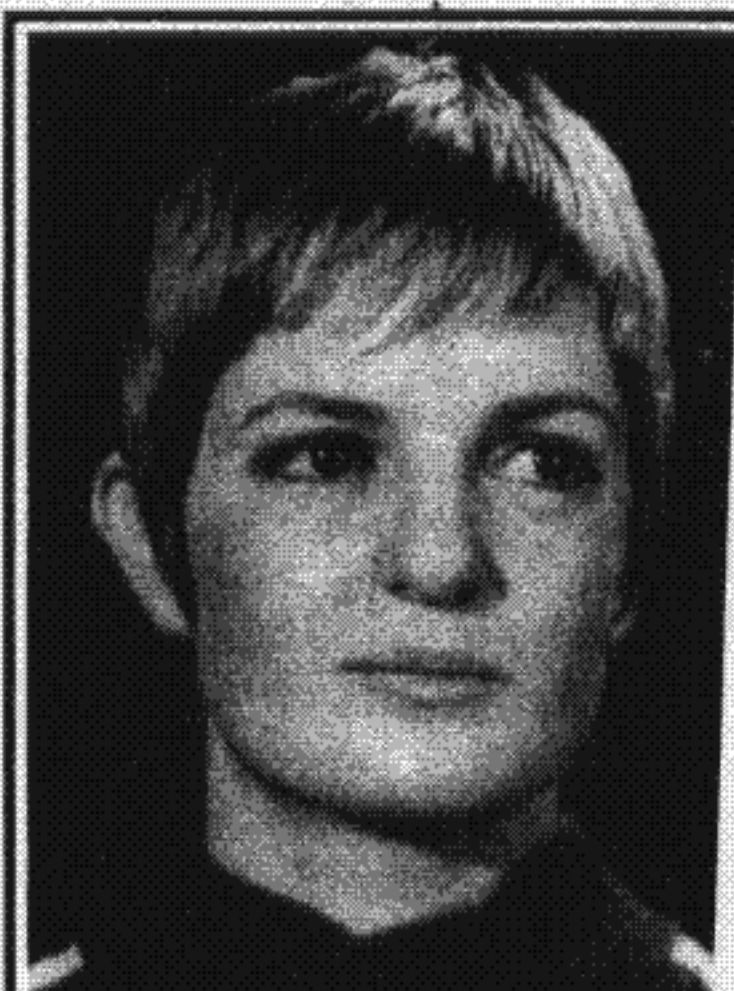
The U.S. government, in cooperation with its allies like the Canadian government, have strung a series of nuclear missile bases all around the world — aiming at the workers' states. The nuclear-armed B-52s of the Strategic Air Command are permanently aloft, awaiting the signal to strike. The U.S. government continues testing nuclear weapons, as at Amchitka Island last November, looking for better ways to "overkill" humanity.

They are prevented from using these weapons only because of the deep revulsion that the world's people have for the bomb, and the telling fact that the workers' states have the power to retaliate. But in a desperate situation for U.S. imperialism, they might well use the bomb again, as they did in 1945.

The spectre of nuclear destruction is raised today most sharply in Vietnam. Pentagon studies show that the use of nuclear weapons remains high on Nixon's list of "contingency plans," if he does not get his way in Vietnam.

And even with "conventional" (non-nuclear) weapons, U.S. imperialism is presently dropping the equivalent of two-and-one-half Hiroshimas a day on the Asian people of Vietnam.

The anniversary of Hiroshima is being properly commemorated today by the millions of people the world over, who are taking to the streets in action against the U.S. imperialism's campaign of genocide in Vietnam.



Jacquie Henderson

New edito

Where Communist Party goes wrong on Vietnam

labor **Challenge**

#61 July 31 1972

by CARL FLEMING

The June 28 issue of Canadian Tribune, which carries the line of the Communist party, contains an article by Alf Dewhurst entitled "How Trotskyists serve foes of peace." Dewhurst's attack on "Trotskyism" is designed to silence criticism from CP members and sympathizers who are critical of the CP split from the antiwar movement and Soviet policy regarding Vietnam.

Dewhurst aims his attack at two

its principled positions of demanding immediate unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops and materiel from Indochina and an end to Canada's complicity, the CP suddenly split from the Vietnam Mobilization Committee last spring. Now they are trying to regroup forces in the decrepit Canadian Peace Congress, which is committed to the CP line.

He makes his arguments only by

Vietnamese negotiating with Washington. Trotskyists have defended the right of the Vietnamese to negotiate, against the charges of ultralefts like the Canadian Party of Labor, which claims the Vietnamese leadership "sold out" by entering the Paris peace talks. Demands must be placed on U.S. imperialism, not on the Vietnamese.

The alternative to "peaceful coexistence" posed by the Trotskyists is not "permanent war", as Dewhurst slanderously presents it, but rather a campaign of international solidarity that will help the Vietnamese achieve victory over U.S. aggression, and thereby further the cause of socialism.

The Communist party does not support such an international campaign. Tied to all the twists and turns of the Soviet bureaucrats, the CP subordinates the long term interests of the world revolutionary struggle (and, in so doing, the defense of the Soviet Union itself) to the short term interests of Soviet diplomacy.

Just who is playing a counter-revolutionary role on the question of Vietnam? Rather than provide the best weaponry to help the Vietnamese resist U.S. aggression, the Soviet Union gives only minimal aid, amounting to only one-tenth of its aid to capitalist Egypt. Rather than call for, and form a united front in defense of the Vietnamese with China and the other workers' states, the Soviet Union instead condemns China for carrying out the same "peaceful coexistence" policies it is practising, and threatens China with armed attack. Rather than declaring North Vietnam an inviolable part of the "socialist camp," to be defended by all means necessary against U.S. bombers, the Soviet leaders clink glasses with Nixon in the Kremlin while his bombers continue to rain incredible destruction on Vietnam.

And the Communist parties around the world back the Soviet betrayal to the hilt.

In order to justify Soviet policy, and force the antiwar movement to revert to demanding "negotiations" rather than withdrawal of U.S. forces, the CP makes the 7-point program of the Provisional



LET'S COOL IT. NIXON REALLY WANTS PEACE TOO.

articles that appeared in the June 5 Labor Challenge, by George Addison and Carl Fleming. These articles, he says, "expose the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism."

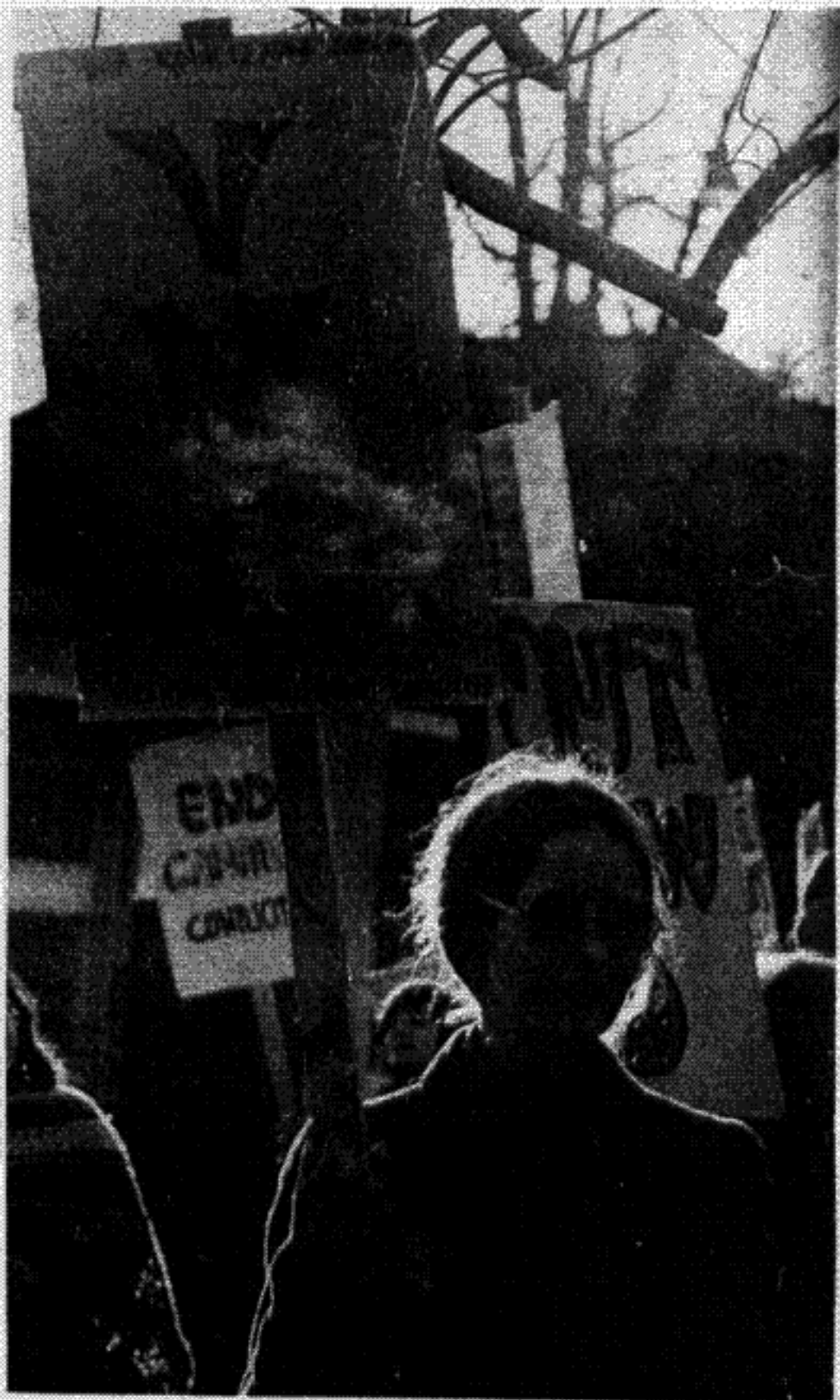
He brands Trotskyists as being against peaceful coexistence and negotiations to end the war. Thus, Dewhurst says, "genuine peace forces find it impossible to work together with Trotskyists in the peace movement."

Under the cover of an attack on Trotskyism, Dewhurst is trying to explain why, after years of trying to derail the antiwar movement from

distorting and lying about the real positions of Trotskyism. The international Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International, has repeatedly declared that building actions in defense of the Vietnamese is a prime responsibility for all socialists. In Canada, the League for Socialist Action — Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Young Socialists — Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes have been the most consistent defenders of the mass actions and demands of the antiwar movement, in the face of constant attacks from the CP.

The Trotskyists do not, as Dewhurst claims, oppose the

← 2.1



CP DESERTS ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Communist Party forces have split from Vietnam Mobilization Committee, which consistently stands for mass actions for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces, and an end to Canada's complicity.

Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam its central demand. Rather than demand "Out Now," Dewhurst says the antiwar movement must "compel Nixon to return to the Paris negotiations on the terms of the 7 points . . ."

The Vietnamese are under considerable pressure to modify their demands and accept a settlement which seriously undermines their victory. This pressure comes mainly from the devastating U.S. bombing, which has reached unprecedented levels. But pressure also comes from the Soviet Union and China, who, in search of a "peaceful coexistence" deal with U.S. imperialism, are more than willing to see a stalemate in Vietnam.

The 7-point proposal of the PRG, which calls on the U.S. to cease supporting the Thieu dictatorship in Saigon, to allow a coalition government to be set up in the South, and to set the date for withdrawal of U.S. troops, is clearly less than what the Vietnamese want or need to unify their country and dispossess the landlords and capitalists.

What then should be the attitude of antiwar forces to the seven points and other peace proposals of the Vietnamese? It cannot be other than a clear defense of the right of self-determination. The antiwar movement should not judge the merits of the specific negotiating points of the Vietnamese. That would only confuse and derail the mass sentiment for U.S. withdrawal

— forcing the movement to change its demands every time the Vietnamese adopt a new stance at the bargaining table.

Stalinists like Alf Dewhurst have no confidence in the masses. They orient not to the struggle in Vietnam and the international antiwar movement — but to the high-level diplomacy of the Soviet bureaucracy. They put their trust in maneuvers and deals — not on mass actions.

The antiwar movement on the other hand, bases its activities and its demands on what is happening in the war. It was the battlefield struggle of the Vietnamese and the international mass actions against U.S. aggression, not Soviet diplomacy, that has repeatedly forced the U.S. to pull back, both in Indochina and at the Paris peace talks. It is this force that Nixon must take into account.

The principled demands of the antiwar movement put the onus for the war on the U.S., and puts forward the only solution (which the Vietnamese would undoubtedly prefer) — the immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

Today the Vietnamese revolution is under a greater threat than ever before, both from U.S. bombs and Stalinist treachery. Thus the mass actions and principled demands of the antiwar movement must be maintained.

That is the best aid we can give to Vietnam.

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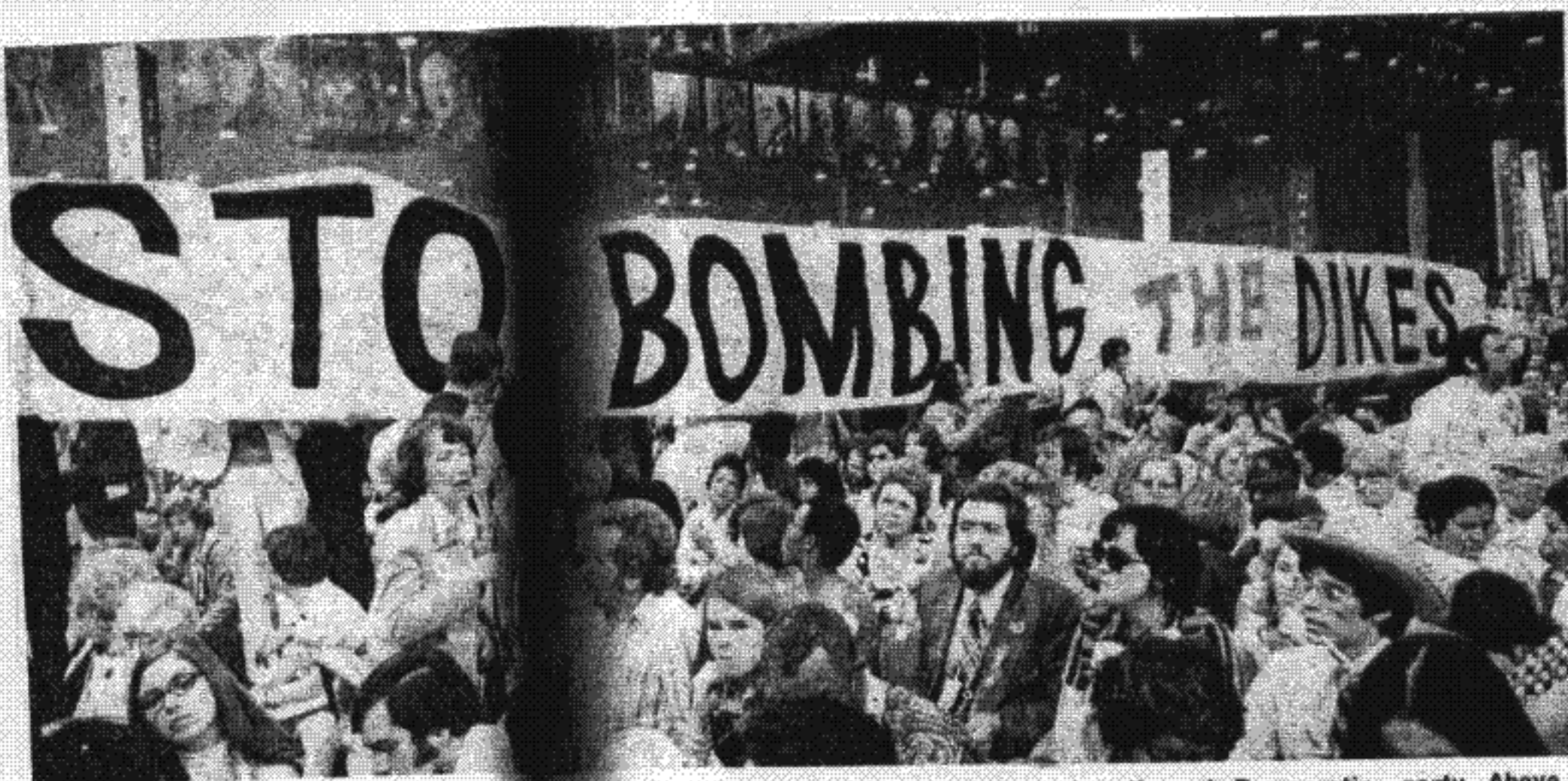
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ANTIWAR SENTIMENT. McGovern campaign pulled mass movements into two-party system through Democratic party. Above, banner is raised by delegates at Miami



George McGovern

Socialist campaign biggest in 50 years

"The capitalists in this country have to lie, because if the American people knew the truth they wouldn't stand for it. They keep themselves in power by lying. We are going to get them out of power by telling the truth."

With these words, Linda Jenness, 31, accepted nomination a year ago as Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. President in 1972. With her running mate, Andrew Pulley, 20, Jenness is heading the largest campaign run by American socialists in over 50 years.

In contrast to McGovern and Nixon, Jenness and Pulley are campaigning to support and build all of the mass movements for social change. They call for immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia, and

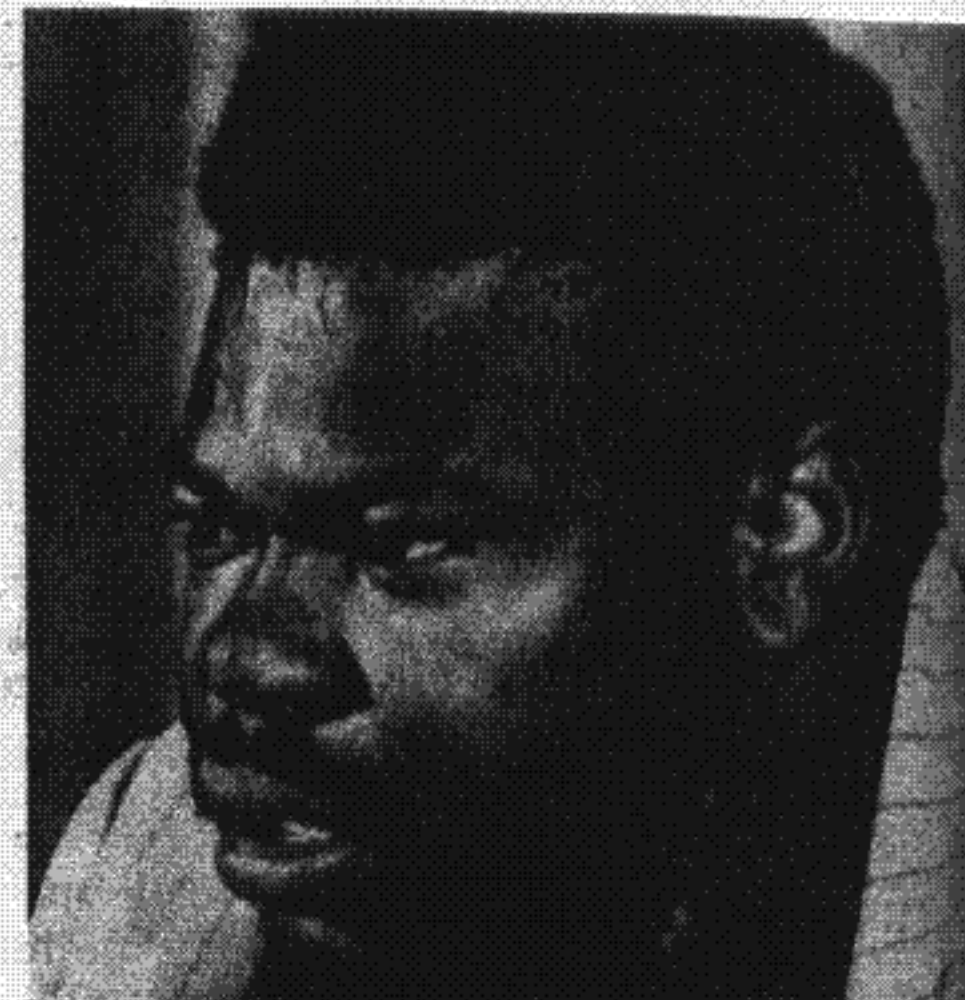
the war. While McGovern calls for more money the police, the socialists demand Black control of the Black communities. They support La Raza Unida parties, while McGovern tries to pull Chicanos into the Democratic Party swamp. Jenness and Pulley are the only candidates who are committed to repeal of all anti-abortion laws and who support the building of a mass women's movement.

The main message of the Jenness-Pulley campaign is that the oppressed must build their own power, their own independent movements, to get what they want and need. The SWP completely rejects the theory of "lesser evil" politics, according to which one capitalist candidate is better than another. This is in sharp contrast to the campaign of the Communist Party, which sees its rather half-hearted campaign as a means of "keeping McGovern honest."

Jenness and Pulley are themselves activists in the independent mass movements. Jenness has been in the antiwar and feminist movements for some years, while Pulley was the principal organizer of GIs United Against the War, one of the first antiwar organizations in the U.S. army.

The socialist campaign faces immense obstacles, including discriminatory election laws which will keep them off the ballot in about 20 states. Even meeting the legal requirements is often not enough — in Ohio the registrar has simply declared 31-year-old Jenness "too young" to be on the ballot.

The SWP judges the value of the



ANDREW PULLEY. Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president.

campaign not according to the number of votes it receives, but the campaign's ability to reach millions of people with socialist ideas. In 1968, for example, the Young Socialist Alliance almost doubled its membership through its participation in the SWP campaign.

To those who argue that the SWP is "not serious," that voting for Jenness and Pulley is wasting a vote, the socialists reply with a quotation from Eugene V. Debs, the socialist candidate who received one million votes in 1920: "It is better to vote for what you want, and not get it, than to vote for what you don't want, and get it."

More information about the socialist campaign can be obtained by writing to: Socialist Workers Party, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, New York 10003.



LINDA JENNESS. Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president.

Vietnamese score victories in South

U.S. steps up terror bombing

By GEORGE ADDISON

Former U.S. attorney-general Ramsey Clark has joined a number of prominent figures, many of them eyewitnesses, in denouncing U.S. bombing of the North Vietnamese dike system. According to Clark, previously a member of Lyndon Johnson's cabinet, actress Jane Fonda, the Swedish ambassador to North Vietnam, the head of the World Council of Churches, United Nations secretary-general Kurt Waldheim and a range of journalists, the U.S. is engaged in the deliberate and systematic bombing of the river and dike system, whose destruction could bring death or injury to millions.

The reply from the Nixon administration has been a flat denial that it is deliberately bombing the dikes, and slander and intimidation of those who have the courage to tell the truth. The U.S. Justice department is now investigating both the statements made by Fonda who recently toured North Vietnam, and Clark's visit to that country as a member of a fact-finding group set up by the Stockholm-based International Committee of Inquiry into U.S. War Crimes in Indochina.

In a news conference July 27, President Nixon called Waldheim's condemnation of U.S. bombing "naive," and alleged he was "duped by Hanoi's propaganda." Nixon cynically boasted that the U.S. should be praised for its restraint — "We could finish off North Vietnam in an afternoon."

Far from showing any restraint, Nixon continues to pile escalation on escalation in Indochina. While he continues his highly-publicized but limited troop withdrawals from South Vietnam, troops are being built up elsewhere in the area. There are now more U.S. troops in Thailand than in South Vietnam.

And the bombing of the North is being stepped up. The North Vietnamese government has charged the U.S. with terror bombing of the city of Hanoi, killing a great number of civilians.

The Vietnamese freedom fighters in the south, despite the heaviest air attacks in the history of the war, show no signs of being "finished off." On July 28, liberation forces threw back Saigon troops in Quang



JANE FONDA. During visit to North Vietnam

Tri city, and reestablished their control of the city after weeks of fierce fighting. On Aug. 6, liberation troops seized five hamlets near the old imperial capital of Hue. Saigon troops are recoiling from liberation attacks in other parts of South Vietnam.

"If the American people knew what we have done with bombs and technology against life, against children, women and men, they would end the war, the bombings and withdraw our troops," said Ramsey Clark in an interview with a Swedish television crew in Hanoi Aug. 7.

It is that task — the mobilizing of the American and world's people to stop Nixon's war machine — that is being taken up by the American antiwar movement. At its convention in Los Angeles July 21-23, attended by about 1000 people, the National Peace Action Coalition called for massive street demonstrations against the war Oct. 26 and Nov. 18. These demonstrations, combined with international antiwar actions, can bring the truth to the American and world's people, increase the mass pressure on Nixon,

limit his ability to maneuver in Indochina, and ultimately force total withdrawal of U.S. forces and materiel from Southeast Asia.

Canada's record of complicity in Vietnam

Exclusive report page 6-7

labor Challenge

#63

Sept. 11 1972

by GEORGE ADDISON

"I do not suppose there is any more reason to talk of an escalation by the president (Nixon) than by North Vietnam since it sent 12 divisions into the south."

Pierre Trudeau was doing it again — trying to justify Canadian support for U.S. escalation of the Indochina war by labelling the Vietnamese the aggressors. Speaking in the House of Commons May 9, 1972, Trudeau had not the slightest word of condemnation for the current U.S. bombing assault on North Vietnam and the mining of North Vietnamese harbors.

As for the subsequent brutal actions of U.S. aggression — the terror bombing of civilian centers, the use of laser-guided "smart" bombs, and the bombing of the Vietnamese dikes, whose destruction could bring death to millions — there has been only smug silence from Ottawa.

Trudeau's response to the latest U.S. escalation of the war is no aberration. It is simply the continuation of the consistent support the Canadian government has given U.S. imperialism in Vietnam over the past 18 years.

A million dollar a day in arms and war material are shipped from Canadian factories to the U.S. under the Defense Production Sharing Agreements. Vast quantities of strategic resources are exported to fuel the U.S. war machine. Military research is carried on for the U.S., under the auspices of the Defense Research Board, and at most Canadian universities.

But Canada's aid for the U.S. war effort goes far beyond this material support and its general agreement with U.S. policy. The Canadian government has consciously covered up U.S. war crimes, and lined up support among U.S. allies for the war. It has been a junior partner in U.S. aggression — providing the absolutely crucial backing Washington needed in its genocidal assault on the Vietnamese people.

Geneva conference

Canadian involvement in Vietnam began with the Geneva conference in 1954, where Canada was named a member of a three-country commission

to supervise the implementation of the agreements made there. This was the International Control Commission (ICC).

In 1954, French imperialism had suffered a stunning defeat at Dien Bien Phu, at the hands of the insurgent Viet Minh forces. This was the climax of a long, protracted conflict between the

Within the space of two years, the U.S. had moved in and put its puppet Diem in power in Saigon. U.S. war material and military "advisers" were stationed throughout South Vietnam. The land reform instituted by the Viet Minh was turned back and the landlords restored. The promised elections to reunify the country were blocked,



CANADIAN ICC REPRESENTATIVE, Blair Seaborn in Saigon. Pentagon Papers reveal he acted as agent for U.S. State Department.

French, who were seeking to preserve their colonial empire in Indochina, and the Vietnamese fighting for their freedom. At Geneva, French imperialism was forced to negotiate with the victorious Vietnamese revolutionaries.

But, besides the Vietnamese and the French a range of other countries attended the Geneva conference, including Britain, the U.S., the Soviet Union, China and others. Vietnam was divided into two sectors — the north, controlled by the Viet Minh; the south by the French — leaving the latter sector as a base for imperialism. Elections to reunify the country were held off for two years. A foreign supervisory body was established — the ICC — to report on violations of the agreements.

because, as U.S. president Eisenhower later admitted in his memoirs, "Ho Chi Minh (the Viet Minh leader) would have won 80 percent of the vote."

The most informative account and analysis of what really happened at Geneva is provided by the Pentagon papers, sections of which were published by the New York Times last year. Following the Times revelations, the U.S. House of Representatives Armed Services Committee published a more complete version of the papers, entitled U.S. — Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967, in 12 volumes. Quotations in this article are from that publication. The Times did not print those sections of the documents dealing with Geneva, and the most sensitive documents — that deal with diplomatic contacts, in which Canada is deeply implicated — remain classified information to this day.

Thus the bulk of the record on Canada's complicity in the diplomatic sphere remains hidden. The Canadian government even launched a formal

→ p. 2

Exclusive: **Canada - silent partner** **18 years of complicity in Vietnam genocide**

← p. 1

protest to the U.S. over the revelations in the Pentagon papers.

At Geneva, a series of agreements were made that overruled the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination, and left South Vietnam as a base for French, then U.S. imperialism. The Pentagon papers point out that these deals could not have been made without the aid of the Soviet Union and China, who played a conscious role of pressuring the Vietnamese to moderate their demands:

"While it is fair to state that the immediate implications of the Accords did not reflect (even according to Central Intelligence Agency reports) Viet Minh strength and control in Vietnam at the time of the conference, it is equally important to understand why. Viet Minh ambitions were thwarted, not so much by Western resistance or treachery, as by Sino-Soviet pressures on them to cooperate . . .

"Together and separately," the report continues, "Moscow and Peking pressed

concessions on the Viet Minh. Invariably, the two principal communist delegates, Chou En-lai and Molotov, played major roles in breaking deadlocks with conciliatory initiatives . . . 'peaceful coexistence' was the hallmark of their diplomacy . . . The two big communist powers did not hesitate in asserting the paramountcy of their interests over those of the Viet Minh." (Book I, Part III. C, pp. C-1, C-2).

International Control Commission

In working out the Accords at Geneva, a particularly thorny problem was that of how the agreements would be put into effect. Two fundamentally different positions were put forward (which remain a key issue in the negotiations today). France, the U.S., USSR and China wanted international supervision; the Viet Minh demanded that there be no foreign intervention into the affairs of the temporarily-divided country.

But international supervision was agreed upon. The Pentagon Papers show how this came about:

"While the Viet Minh from the beginning had pressed for no outside control or supervision of either military or political agreements concerning Indochina, all other delegations quickly moved in that direction. The Soviets took the lead on the communist side. The major issue was the composition and voting procedure of the proposed International Control Commission . . . As the matter evolved, a compromise settlement provided for a three-nation formula including one communist state. Both aspects of this agreement were based on (Soviet foreign minister) Molotov's original plan . . .

"There is little doubt," the papers continue, "that the conference would not have been able to move against the initial DRV (Democratic Republic of Vietnam — North Vietnam) intransigence without assistance from the Soviets and Chinese. In the opening phase of discussion, both the major powers voiced complete agreement with the DRV in policy and aims, but through a series of moves both powers also made great efforts to soften the DRV hard line

and to allow enough flexibility for concessions." (Book I, Part III. C, p. C-25)

An agreement was made, whereby the members of the ICC would be Poland, India and Canada. All major questions would be determined by unanimous agreement among the three, rather than majority agreement. However, minority reports could be issued when the ICC was unable to agree on a recommendation.

The U.S. was delighted with this arrangement. In a telegram from Geneva to the U.S. Secretary of State dated July 19, 1954, Undersecretary of State Smith says:

"The outlines of international control now clearly emerge. Composition will probably be Poland, India and Canada or Belgium. The French prefer Belgium and so do I. Both Poland and Canada or Belgium will have veto on important questions. Commission will have full freedom of movement in demilitarized zones which will separate forces at each stage of regrouping and in all frontier and seacoast areas.

"Taking everything into consideration, I strongly feel this is satisfactory and much better than we were able to obtain in Korea. French feel, and Eden (British foreign minister) and I agree, that with such composition, built-in veto will work to our advantage . . ." (Book IX, p. 664).

Thus, as the Pentagon papers show, Canada was put on the ICC in order to use its veto power to block any move that might hurt the interests of the U.S. And following Geneva, Canada carried out its complicit role every step of the way.

Geneva was a rotten sellout by the erstwhile allies of the Vietnamese, denying them their rights, and setting back their struggle for years. But even this settlement was not acceptable. U.S. imperialism never saw the agreements as more than a scrap of paper. They wanted to use the base the Geneva Accords gave them in South Vietnam to strike against the new workers' states of North Vietnam and China. U.S. aid was increased to the corrupt Diem dictatorship, facing a mounting challenge



INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION members and Indian ICC members examine victims of Napalm bombing. While such evidence, Canada's representatives consistently provided no evidence of American aggression against Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

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from peasants and Buddhist sects.

Following the U.S. lead, Canada's first act as custodian of the Geneva Accords was to interpret them in the most unfavorable way for the Vietnamese.

Minority Report

In the spring of 1955, Canada blocked an ICC condemnation of Diem's refusal to abide by the Geneva Accords, particularly concerning reunification of Vietnam. India and Poland labelled Diem's action as a "revocation of the Agreement." But the Canadian member of the ICC did not concur, and presented a minority report that the Saigon regime, which the Pentagon papers admit was a "creation" of the U.S., was not "formally engaged" to abide by the Accords.

Professor James Steele of Carleton University, in a 1966 pamphlet entitled "Rationale for war in Vietnam," published by the Toronto antiwar movement, underlines the importance of the Canadian minority report in shoring up the Diem regime and laying the basis for U.S. intervention and subsequent escalation of the war.

"The Canadian judgment," says Steele, "was ill-founded, unjust and fraught with evil consequences. By providing the Diem administration with a semi-judicial sanction for renouncing the Geneva Agreement, we (Canada) thereby assisted in its (the Geneva Accords) destruction. I think we must face up to the horrible fact that we are partly to blame for the present conflict."

Nor has the full story been told about this affair. In his study of the 1955 minority report, Steele was blocked from gathering information by the Canadian government. The Department of External Affairs told him he could look at documents on the affair only on the condition that he not reveal their contents. Steele of course refused.

Seaborn, U.S. agent

On Aug. 4, 1964, the "Tonkin Gulf incident" took place, which, according to U.S. propaganda, saw North Vietnamese ships attack two American ships. Johnson used this as his excuse to launch bombing attacks on North Vietnam, and to push the "Tonkin Gulf resolution" underwriting U.S. intervention in Vietnam, through the U.S. Congress.

As the Pentagon papers show, the U.S. deliberately arranged the "Tonkin Gulf incident" in order to provoke the Vietnamese, and thus have an excuse to escalate the war. And the Canadian government, with the activities of

Canadian diplomat J. Blair Seaborn, acted as a direct agent for the U.S. government.

Shortly after the Tonkin Gulf incident, a note was delivered to the Canadian embassy in Washington. The note, from the U.S. State Department, was a set of detailed instructions for the Canadian representative on the ICC:

"Canadians are urgently asked to have Seaborn during August 10 visit (to Hanoi) make the following points . . ."

The "following points" include directing Seaborn to convey to the North Vietnamese the U.S. version of the Tonkin Gulf incident, together with the threat: "that the U.S. has ways and means of measuring the Democratic Republic of Vietnam's participation in, and direction and control of the war on South Vietnam, and in Laos, and will be carefully watching the DRV's response to what Mr. Seaborn is telling them."

It takes little imagination to understand what Seaborn was doing. He was delivering threats to Hanoi from the U.S. government. The Canadian government knew the content of Seaborn's activity, and directed him to follow the U.S. instructions.

Seaborn was not successful in convincing the North Vietnamese to back down to U.S. threats and aggression. He made trips to Hanoi in June and August, 1964, and four subsequent visits. But the blatantly pro-U.S. character of his missions so angered the Vietnamese by that time that they refused to speak to him.

In 1965, Poland and India presented a

majority ICC report condemning the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. Canada dissented and blocked an ICC decision by presenting a minority report which put the blame for the bombing on the North Vietnamese, who, Canada claimed, had "invaded" South Vietnam, and provoked the U.S. into retaliation.

In fact, as CIA estimates in the Pentagon papers show, the revolutionary force in South Vietnam, the National Liberation Front, was an indigenous South Vietnam-based force whose weapons were mainly of American origin. In addition, it was the height of absurdity to condemn the Vietnamese for invading their own country.

Vietnamese denounce Canada

The Vietnamese view of Canada's role on the ICC is seen in an editorial in the Jan. 28, 1967 issue of the Hanoi daily Nhan Dan:

"The Canadian government has not lived up to its obligations as a member of the International Control Commission. The Vietnamese people know full well that the Canadian government has all along shielded and supported the acts of intervention and aggression of the U.S., in both South and North Vietnam."

There have been a series of revelations of other examples of Canada's complicity in U.S. aggression through the ICC. Brigadier Bruce Ketcheson revealed in 1969 that during his tour of duty as part of the Canadian ICC delegation in 1958-59, he regularly furnished the U.S. CIA with information about troop movements in North Viet-

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VIETNAM NEXT? Canadian soldier under United Nations flag, "peace-keeping" in Cyprus. Canadian government has offered to do same in Vietnam.



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nam. He claimed that the Canadian External Affairs Department "knew unofficially and looked the other way."

Gerald Clark, editor of the Montreal Star wrote on May 9, 1967, that Canadian officers on the ICC were "betraying their trust by acting as informants for U.S. intelligence agencies . . . They are functioning as spies when they are supposed to be serving as international civil servants."

CBC Vietnam correspondent Tim Ralfe said these activities were common knowledge. Canadian members of the ICC, he stated in the Toronto Star, May 10, 1967, "see themselves as American spokesmen on the Commission." Information dealing with civilian morale in North Vietnam, he said, is transmitted to Canadian ICC headquarters in Saigon where two copies are made. "One is transmitted to Ottawa; the other goes to the U.S. embassy," said Ralfe.

Canadian "peace initiatives"

Though acting as conscious agents and spies for the U.S., the Canadian government continued through the whole period to pose as a "peacemaker" in Vietnam. Thus a number of missions were sent to Hanoi. Government spokesmen unveiled a series of "peace initiatives" supposedly to end the war.

Such "initiatives" were always part and parcel of U.S. strategy in Vietnam. Time after time, the U.S. would temporarily halt the bombing of North Vietnam, and float a "peace" proposal that was clearly unacceptable to the Vietnamese. Then, when the Vietnamese had rejected the U.S. proposals, a new escalation of the war would be launched.

On a number of occasions, it was the Canadian government which made these proposals. By having Canada, a supposedly neutral country in the conflict,

take these "initiatives," Washington was trying to cut across public antiwar sentiment by putting the onus on the Vietnamese to bow to U.S. aggression and making North Vietnam appear to be the aggressor.

The Pentagon papers detail a number of such Canadian "initiatives" besides Seaborn's trips in 1964 and 1965. On April 29, 1966, Canadian Prime Minister Pearson proposed "equivalent and phased withdrawals from South Vietnam by North Vietnam and by the forces of other governments which could take place under international supervision (with) concurrent arrangements to ensure that the people of South Vietnam were enabled . . . to choose their own form of government and that the withdrawal of troops would not simply create a political vacuum in which terrorism and coercion could continue . . ." (Book XII, Part VIA, p. 21).

Pearson was proposing that the Vietnamese withdraw from their own country, under the "international supervision" of the ICC, which would include Canada, to see that what Pearson called "terrorism and coercion" (his words for revolution) would be crushed. The Vietnamese naturally rejected the Canadian suggestion out of hand, and U.S. president Johnson used

see page 5



photo by Jeff White

.. Canada's complicity

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their rejection as an excuse to renew the bombing of North Vietnam on a heavier scale than previously.

In 1966, prominent Canadian diplomat and former ambassador to China, Chester Ronning was sent to Hanoi with a U.S. proposal, to again try to convince the Vietnamese to concede.

"Canadian ambassador Ronning," the Pentagon papers say, "told the Canadian parliament he had tried to persuade Hanoi to make a 'corresponding move' in response to a U.S. cessation of bombing, but had received a negative response. Agence France-Presse (June 22) reported 'well-informed sources in Hanoi' said North Vietnam had rejected U.S. proposals transmitted by Ronning . . ." (Book XII, Section VI, p. 23)

Once again, U.S. bombing was resumed after a Canadian "initiative."

The following year, in April, 1967, Canadian minister of External Affairs Paul Martin unveiled a "four-stage scenerio for peace." This would include: 1. restoring the "demilitarized character" of the demilitarized zone; 2. both sides would agree "not to engage in any military activities which differed in either scale or pattern" from current activities; 3. all hostilities would stop, and 4. "the process of return to cease fire of the Geneva settlements" would be completed.

Hanoi rejected the Canadian proposal. Nhan Dan denounced Martin's speech (without mentioning his name on April 16, for failing to "urge the imperialists to stop their aggressive war in Vietnam, cease definitively and unconditionally the bombing and withdraw U.S. troops." Again, on April 21, Nhan Dan reported that the DRV foreign ministry "energetically condemns and rejects the deceitful proposal . . ." The National Liberation Front denounced the proposal, accusing the U.S., through

its Canadian agent, of a plot to turn the "temporary demarcation line into a territorial border, perpetuate the partition of Vietnam . . . and prepare for war against the DRV." (Radio Hanoi, April 23, 1967)

Later, both Pearson and Martin called for a permanent halt to the U.S. bombing of Vietnam. As Martin saw it, stopping the bombing would create "a new situation" where "new pressures could be brough upon North Vietnam." Pearson and Martin were trying to create a situation where the onus for the continued war could be placed upon the intransigence of the Vietnamese rather than where it belonged — on the U.S. government which had no right to be in Vietnam in the first place.

Continuing complicity

As we have seen, Canadian governments, both Liberal and Tory over the past 18 years have been guilty of complicity in each step in the U.S. escalation of its counterrevolutionary war of aggression on Indochina. The present Trudeau government has not wavered in the least from the shameful record of its predecessors.

Prime Minister Trudeau, External Affairs Minister Sharp and former Defense minister Cadieux have all offered Canadian troops for use as "peacekeepers" in Vietnam — a role which could only be counterrevolutionary; another denial of Vietnamese self-determination.

When the Pentagon papers lifted the lid on the Seaborn affair, Sharp justified the actions as trying "to promote a peaceful settlement to the conflict in Vietnam . . . Canada, along with many others, accepted the United States government's version of the Gulf of Tonkin incident . . ."

Sharp topped off this doubletalk with the lying claim that "We were not allied to the United States in its operations in Indochina." (House of

Commons, June 17, 1971)

Trudeau bluntly admitted in Aurora, Ont. on June 22, 1971, that Canada had never pretended to be unaligned: "As the Western-aligned nation on the commission (the ICC), Canada in good conscience could carry messages for the United States to Hanoi."

And as we have seen this spring and summer, with Nixon's latest escalations of the war, Trudeau, Sharp and the Canadian government have backed U.S. aggression all the way.

Over its eight-year history, the Canadian antiwar movement has effectively exposed, and built mass actions against Canada's complicity in the war. The demand "End Canada's complicity," has become a central demand of the movement.

This powerful demand lays bare the whole diplomatic, military and economic relationship between Canadian and U.S. imperialism, and dispels the illusions carefully fostered by the government that the Canadian government is playing a progressive role in world politics.

It is up to antiwar forces in this country to bring the truth about Canada's complicity to the Canadian people, and to build a mass movement to end it.

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Antiwar movement plans fall actions

by CARL FLEMING

Conferences are being planned in centres across Canada to lay plans for fall antiwar actions to respond to

the latest U.S. escalations of the Vietnam war. The antiwar movement in Toronto and Van-

couver will meet on Sept. 30. An Ottawa Vietnam Mobilization Committee conference is slated for Oct. 1. The Edmonton antiwar movement meets Oct. 14. Conferences are being planned in other areas during the month of October.

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto has addressed a call to antiwar activists across the country, appealing to them to respond to the call of the American National Peace Action Coalition for international mass demonstrations on Nov. 18, demanding: "An end to the bombing now! A total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all United States forces, planes, ships, financial aid, and materiel from Vietnam and an end of the United States support of the Thieu regime or any other United States imposed regime."

The VMC is also planning an aggressive intervention into the federal election campaign, to expose the complicity of the Canadian government in U.S. aggression against Vietnam, and to build support for Nov. 18. The election intervention will include leafleting, picketing Liberal and Conservative election meetings, and challenging candidates to take a stand against the war and Canada's complicity.

On Sept. 10, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia (SMC), a



"We must stay in Vietnam to prevent a Communist bloodbath."
—The Administration

A report released by U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy in June revealed that more bombs had been dropped by the U.S. in one month than the previous total for the whole war. This is more than triple the total U.S. bombing during all the World War II.

During the period from April to mid-July of this year, the U.S. bombed 24 provinces and cities, 100 infant schools, 60 general and vocational schools, 22 hospitals, 30 pagodas and churches, and dozens of forestry centers, power plants, mills and factories.

There are well over 26,000,000 bomb and shell craters in Vietnam — 21,000,000 of them in the South.

Only 5-8 percent of all bombing has been directed at military targets.

Since 1965, more than 8 million war refugees have been forced from their homes — almost half the population of South Vietnam.

Civilian casualties in the war since 1965 total more than one-and-a-quarter million, including at least 380,000 fatalities. This does not include those killed in the latest U.S. escalation since the spring.

U.S. defense secretary Laird estimates and increase of between three to five billion dollars for the 1972 Vietnam war budget.

The result? — GENOCIDE.

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Nixon's secret plan to end war

During the presidential election campaign four years ago, Nixon proclaimed that he had a "secret plan" to end the Vietnam war. The "plan," wrote syndicated columnist Jack Anderson Sept. 1, "was greeted with derision by Democrats and skepticism by others. But those privy to the President's strategy assure us that he not only had a 'secret plan' but that it has come close to succeeding."

What was it? "His 'secret plan' simply was to appeal over Hanoi's head to Moscow and Peking. He hoped to sit down separately with Russian and Chinese leaders for some straight talk. He thought he could persuade them that U.S. friendship could be more valuable to them than Hanoi's favor.

"Without the support of their two Communist allies, Nixon figures the North Vietnamese would be com-

pelled to come to terms."

Anderson appears to believe that once elected, Nixon went right to work in an effort to implement his "secret plan" ("Reaching Moscow and Peking took longer and the diplomacy was more sophisticated than the President had anticipated"). But with the pressure of another election year and an unavoidable incentive, trips to both capitals were finally arranged. "A month ago," observes Anderson,

looked as if the scenario would turn out largely as he had foreseen. Among the points Nixon is said to have made to Hanoi's allies was that "he would be easier to deal with before his re-election than afterward."

Following Nixon's trips to Moscow and Peking, wrote Anderson, "the White House learned that both Moscow and Peking had advised Hanoi that Nixon would be re-elected and, therefore, that serious negotiations should be resumed. This led to the secret talks between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho."

"The word from Moscow and Peking was so optimistic that the President felt sure he would get a ceasefire. President Thieu, for his part, even agreed to step down and permit an internationally supervised election in South Vietnam. But the negotiations broke down over the question of who would control the interim government."

In spite of pressure from Moscow and Peking, the Vietnamese have continued their struggle. Sources "close to" Nixon reportedly relayed to the columnist the president's "bitter disappointment" over Hanoi's refusal to accept his terms. "Nixon had expected to be able to tell the Republican convention a month how he had kept his end of the war pledge. Instead, he returned with cold war rhetoric in his acceptance speech, promising not to 'betray our allies' nor to 'stain the honor of the United States.'"

— Intercontinental

B.C. NDP slams complicity

The B.C. NDP provincial executive, in response to an appeal from the Vietnam Action Committee, passed a series of motions on the Vietnam war at its meeting Sept. 16. The motions were: 1. to make a donation of \$50.00 to the Vietnam Action Committee to help build its Sept. 30 antiwar conference in Vancouver; 2. to send an official delegate to the VAC conference; 3. to recommend that the provincial caucus of the NDP, now forming the government, also send a delegate to the VAC conference; 4. to recommend that the caucus put forward a motion in the B.C. legislature

demanding the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces and an end to the federal government's complicity in the Vietnam war; and 5. to send a letter from the executive to Prime Minister Trudeau demanding that he end Canada's complicity and call on the U.S. to withdraw now from Vietnam.

The VAC conference will be preceded on Friday, Sept. 29, with an all-candidates rally, where candidates from the NDP, the Conservatives and Social Credit will debate the war issue. The VAC has announced that NDP MP Grace McInnis will be a feature speaker at the rally.

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Toronto-based student antiwar organizing group, called on students, student councils and student organizations to participate in a Canada-wide student antiwar conference Nov. 4. The conference will take place at a campus in southern Ontario. SMC supporters across Canada are presently campaigning for endorsements and participation in this conference, which is designed to consolidate and coordinate the student antiwar

movement on university campuses and at high schools across Canada. The Student Union at Trent University in Peterborough has endorsed the conference and appealed to student councils to do likewise.

Further information on the fall campaigns of the Canadian antiwar movement may be obtained from the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, 241 Victoria St., Toronto 2, Ont., telephone (416) 863-0494.

In brief

AMCHITKA TEST CAUSED EARTHQUAKES

Despite all the reassuring statements by U.S. government figures that the five-megaton Amchitka nuclear test last Nov. 6 killed only a few seals and birds, it now turns out that something bigger happened.

Twenty-two "small earthquakes and hundreds of blast after-shocks" were registered in the three months following the test, according to Dr. E. Engdahl, a research geophysicist with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration at Boulder, Colorado. The first quake, seven days after the test, measured 3.5 on the Richter scale.



FALL 1971. Canadians protest Amchitka bomb test.

Vietnam is election issue

Asked by Vancouver antiwar activist Nic Shugalo about Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war Sept. 23, Prime Minister Trudeau replied by telling the Antiwar movement to "fuck off."

Obviously, the Prime Minister does not consider his government's consistent support for the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese to be a relevant election issue.

In a speech to the Empire Club in Toronto Sept. 29, Trudeau spoke in a somewhat different vein, calling Canadian foreign policy "long respected for its tone of moderation and wise counsel. . ." He spoke of Canada gaining "a further measure of independence from the policies of other counties."

But the same day in Vietnam, the Canadian commissioner on the International Control Commission (ICC) was busy producing a statement on the action of the Saigon regime which had expelled India, the chairman of the ICC, from South Vietnam. India's "crime" was recognizing the government of North Vietnam.

The statement of the Canadian representative was true to form. He defended the Saigon dictatorship's action and blamed India and Poland, the other two members of the ICC, for "obstructing" the work of the ICC.

Another minority report. Another neat job of covering up for U.S. policy and its puppet regime in Vietnam.

Far from becoming more independent from the policies of the U.S. State Department as Trudeau claims, this action is but the latest example of Canada's consistent complicity. Over the past 18 years, Canada has acted as agent, spy, supplier and apologist for U.S. imperialism, covering up its crimes.

External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp boasted in June that Canada had "paved the way" for Nixon's visits to Peking and Moscow, designed to impose a settlement on U.S. terms on the Vietnamese. During Sharp's own visit to China in August, he sounded out the Chinese bureaucrats on a Geneva-style settlement in Vietnam — which would leave sections of Vietnam as a base for U.S. intrigues.

The Indochina war is an issue in this election campaign. The antiwar movement is intervening in an attempt to force the candidates to take a position on the war, expose Liberal and Tory complicity, and win support for the mass international protests scheduled for Nov. 18.

The NDP, while it has a formal position against Canada's complicity and for withdrawal of all U.S. forces, has so far failed to raise this issue in its Canada-wide campaign. NDP and antiwar activists have a responsibility now to press the issue forward.

As U.S. aggression in Vietnam escalates and Canada's complicity in the war continues, all supporters of the Vietnamese right of self-determination must join with the Canadian and international antiwar movement in actions that can concretely aid the Vietnamese struggle.

Vietnamese continue resistance

U.S. aim: starve, terrorize Vietnam

by IAN ANGUS

When Nixon announced the mining of North Vietnam's harbors last May, he said that his goal was "to keep the weapons of war out of the hands of the international outlaws of North Vietnam." The evidence, however, proves that his real aim is to starve and terrorize the Vietnamese people into submission.

The New York Times, Sept. 11, pointed out that the main effect of the naval blockade has been to cut off food supplies. The Times cites National Security Study Memorandum No. 1, written in the first weeks of Nixon's administration, which said that about 85 percent of foreign aid to North Vietnam comes by sea, almost all of it food and other non-military items. The memorandum said: "The importance of food imports can hardly be overstated; even with them, North Vietnam has been forced to strictly ration foodstuffs."

While the blockade aims to cut off food imports, U.S. bombing is designed to terrorize Vietnamese civilians, north and south. The Nov. 1971 findings of the Cornell University Air War Study Group, for instance, showed that 90 percent of fixed-wing air activity in South Vietnam was used for "interdiction" — that is, "to influence the population, to cause them to move into areas under government control, or to make them stop supporting the insurgency."

In North Vietnam, every observer, including former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, agrees that U.S. policy is to attack civilians and non-military structures. A Dutch doctor, Harald Aarts, who visited

North Vietnam in August, reports some of the bombing tactics he witnessed in the Aug. 26 issue of the Hong Kong weekly Far Eastern Economic Review.

He cites the case of Hon Gai city, where bombers dropped first incendiary bombs to force the people out of their homes at 3:00 a.m., then dropped fragmentation bombs on the running civilians, then hit bomb shelters with blast bombs.

Dr. Aarts witnessed the detonation of a delayed-action bomb in a dike in Hai Hung province. These bombs are designed to bury themselves in the soft soil, and to explode after the

bombing raid has ended, killing rescue squads and cleanup teams.

Nixon's war of starvation and terror continues to escalate at the same time as the Vietnamese find themselves isolated by the maneuvers of their "allies." The bureaucratic cliques that rule China and the USSR are continuing their efforts to reach a detente with Nixon at the expense of Vietnam's self-determination.

In the face of murderous aggression and diplomatic sellouts, Vietnam's continued resistance is one of the greatest examples of heroism in our time. Two separate but concurring U.S. intelligence reports, from the Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency, conclude that the Vietnamese liberation drive has not been slowed down.

The reports, leaked to the New York Times Sept. 12, say that not only has the movement of men and supplies in North Vietnam not been stopped, but that new pipelines have been built and twenty thousand troops have entered the South in the past six weeks. In addition, the liberation forces in the Mekong Delta region near Saigon are stronger than at any previous time in the war.

Studies prepared by the Rand Corporation, a Pentagon "think-tank," indicate that North Vietnamese morale remains very high. The most recent report, based on "in-depth" interviews with North Vietnamese prisoners, says that the prisoners "all said that the sacrifices had been worthwhile, and all said that in one way or another the war would have to continue



ANTIWAR MOVEMENT CONFRONTS TRUDEAU. Trudeau replied to demand to end support of U.S. war machine by telling Vancouver Vietnam Action Committee activist Nick Shugala "Fuck Off!"

through future generations if they themselves should be unable to achieve their aims."

"I would rather die in the struggle for independence than live under the domination of foreigners," said one prisoner. "We will still have to fight even if the war is prolonged for five more years, ten more years or twenty more years. If fathers cannot achieve victories, sons will succeed them."



RICHARD NIXON Trying to starve and terrorize Vietnamese

Antiwar protests Nov. 18

by ISOLDE BELFONT

"Canada's hands are steeped in blood" because of the Liberal party's complicity in the Vietnam war, NDP MP Grace MacInnis told a Sept. 29 Vancouver antiwar conference. MacInnis went on to demand that Canada break from the Defense Sharing Agreements, under which a million dollars a day in war goods are exported to the U.S. for the Indochina war.

MacInnis urged the continued building of the antiwar movement in defense of the Vietnamese people who are "our people, no matter what part of the globe they live in," and suggested that antiwar actions would "help the American people

get rid of that corrupt administration in the United States."

MacInnis was speaking at an all-candidates rally, part of the Sept. 29-30 Vietnam Action Committee's conference. The conference received greetings from the provincial NDP council and the B.C. Federation of Labor. An action proposal was adopted that stressed intervention in the federal election campaign, seeing the Sept. 23 picket against Trudeau as a model.

This picket resulted in headlines across Canada, when the Prime Minister told VAC executive member Nic Shugalo to "fuck off"

when Shugalo asked him about his government's complicity in the war. The VAC pledged itself to keep pressing the parties to take a position against Canada's complicity, and demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and material from Southeast Asia.

Conferences of local antiwar committees are being planned in cities across the country during October. On Oct. 1, 30 people attended the conference of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Ottawa, Ont. Among the speakers was Irving Greenberg, NDP candidate in Ottawa center.

A conference Sept. 30 in Toronto brought together 60 antiwar activists to lay plans for action this fall in Ontario. Sponsored by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, the conference decided on a series of activities, including intervening in the election campaign, supporting the conference of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia Nov. 4-5, and research and actions against war material exports, to culminate in a major regional mobilization on Nov. 18.

Nov. 18 has been proposed as an International Day of Protest by the National Peace Action Coalition in the United States. The NPAC call has already been taken up by the antiwar movement in several European countries, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere.



NDP MP GRACE MacINNIS
Action Committee Conference

Speaking to Vancouver Vietnam

Editorials

Defend Vietnam!

Has the United States succeeded in forcing a compromise on the Vietnamese? The rumors about some sort of agreement at the secret Paris talks between U.S. presidential spokesman Henry Kissinger and the representatives of the North Vietnamese seem to be growing more serious. Any such compromise, whatever the conditions, will constitute a violation of the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination.

The United States has no right whatsoever to negotiate Vietnam's future. They have only one "right" — to get out, get out now, unconditionally and totally. Any concessions the Vietnamese might agree to will have been ground out of them by nearly ten years of suffering under the bombardment and merciless obliteration of their country by the United States.

The war continues and grows, regardless of the talk of a settlement. The war aims of the U.S. remain the same: to force the Vietnamese, through horrendous military pressure, to accept a regime in Saigon of the U.S.'s choosing. The ins and outs of the negotiations, therefore, are not a decisive matter for the antiwar movement.

Whatever concessions the Vietnamese themselves may be forced to make, the goal of the antiwar movement both here and internationally remains nothing less than self-determination for the Vietnamese, that is, total and immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces. Anything less would be unprincipled.

Our tasks are to build powerful, visible actions that can tell the truth about the escalating slaughter in Vietnam and expose the attempts of the U.S. rulers to win at the bargaining table what it is unable to win on the battlefield.

Of utmost importance is to continue to expose the complicity of the Canadian government, who on top of their consistent lying, spying and supplying for the U.S. war machine, have taken on the additional intrigue of smoothing the path for the deal with Peking and Moscow to force U.S. terms on the Vietnamese.

Now is the time to get to work, to get involved in the fall activities of the antiwar movement. The antiwar groups are now intervening in the federal election campaign to expose the Liberals and Tories and to publicize their November actions. On Nov. 4-5, the Student Mobilization Committee will be launched at a big, and very important public cross-country conference and all of these activities will culminate in the international protest actions on Nov. 18. It is urgent, more than ever before, for all those who identify with the struggle of the Vietnamese to mobilize in their defense by building the anti-war movement.

War goes on as Nixon talks peace

by DICK ROBERTS

World attention was riveted last week on the secret talks between presidential adviser Henry Kissinger and North Vietnamese politburo member Le Duc Tho. Never have there been such intensive negotiations between the two sides, nor have the rumors of impending peace been so persistent.

Two weeks previous, when Kissinger and Le Duc Tho held their first extended two-day meeting, Wall Street Journal staff reporter Robert Keatley wrote from Washington, "there is a growing feeling here that they are discussing, probably more seriously than ever before, matters that could bring agreement on key aspects of a Vietnam peace settlement by the Nov. 7 election."

Since then Kissinger's special representative, Major General Alexander Haig, has conferred with South Vietnamese President Thieu; President Nixon has held talks with Moscow's foreign minister, Andrei Gromyko; and Kissinger and Le Duc Tho have held a new meeting in Paris that was extended to four days.

Nevertheless, Hanoi has consistently denied that Nixon is negotiating seriously. While talks were taking place in Paris between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, Professor George Kahin of Cornell University was in Hanoi, Sept. 23-30. He was told by Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh that the secret talks are "stuck on dead center and they don't think that Nixon is serious about negotiating before the election."

Washington Post correspondent Murrey Marder pointed out on Oct. 9, "The press, as a whole, is unlikely to provide great clarification to distinguish between what is real and what is illusory in this melange of information and disinformation. For the competitive press itself is both victim and vehicle in the secret diplomacy now being played out, sucked into a can-you-top-this brand of journalism."

Marder could have added that the latest peace rumors in the press are

seized by the public because it is the profound hope of the vast majority of Americans that the war come to an end. But the war is very much going on.

For Nixon's aim remains what it has been from the outset — to buy time from the American public to continue pressing the U.S. military effort. The bombing of Southeast Asia today is at the highest level in history.

Writing from Paris Oct. 10, Christian Science Monitor

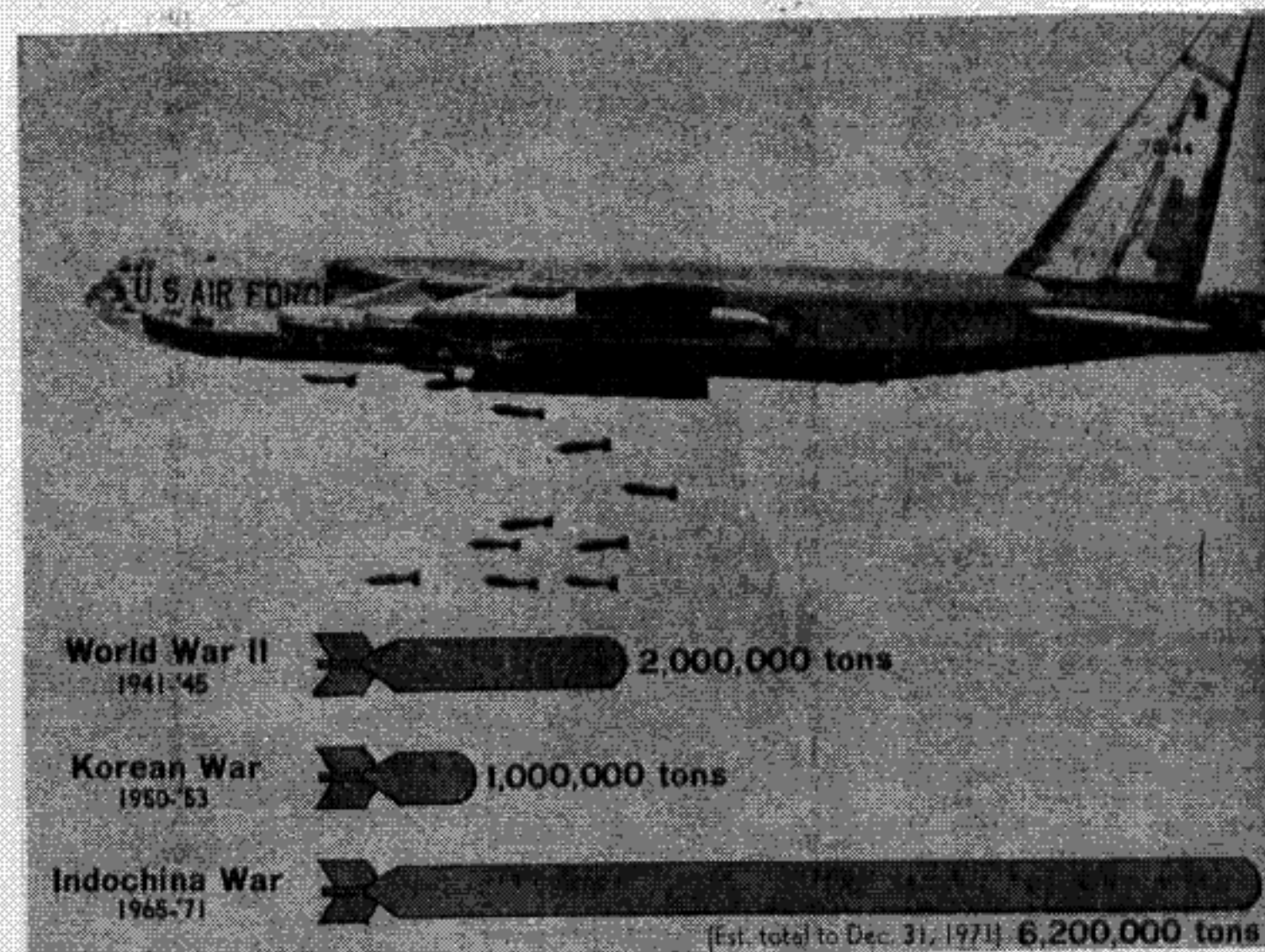
correspondent Takashi Oka declared that probably "both sides are still at the stage of exchanging extremely detailed questions and answers about each other's positions, without necessarily surrendering their own claims."

"The core question, after all, is what guarantees each side can offer the other against elimination of the two Vietnamese antagonists — the Hanoi-supported Viet Cong, and the American-supported Saigon regime."

This has always been the central question, and it will remain so even if a cease-fire is agreed upon. Should South Vietnam be ruled by the proimperialist military clique in Saigon or by a democratic government of workers and peasants? This is the question being fought out day after day on the Indochina battlefields. The U.S. bombardment of Vietnam is designed to keep South Vietnam under the rule of the capitalist-landlords.

A detailed report from the battlefield appeared on the front page of the Oct. 4 Wall Street Journal. It was subtitled "Death Marches On." Staff reporter Peter Kann contended, "the most realistic outlook, according to the majority of observers here, is more months of intensive combat and quite possibly more years of protracted war."

Kann emphasized the crucial role of U.S. air power in maintaining the Saigon regime against the seven-month-old revolutionary offensive. "Among supporters and critics of U.S. policy here, the consensus is that South Vietnam would have



GENOCIDAL BOMBINGS. Chart shows U.S. bombing in Indochina compared to other wars.

fared much worse — and perhaps collapsed — had it not been for American air support. 'If it weren't for air power, there would be no South Vietnam — it's that simple,' Air Force Gen. Lucius D. Clay Jr. was recently quoted as saying in the military newspaper Stars and Stripes."

Thus — and this was the case in 1965 when President Johnson first ordered the massive U.S. escalation of the war — the Saigon regime stands only by virtue of U.S. military power. Kann details how areas of South Vietnam that had been kept on the government side by U.S. occupation have now gone over to the revolutionary side.

"Statistics tell only a bit of the story, but there now are over 1,000 Vietcong-controlled hamlets, compared with seven before the offensive, according to American figures. There are, of course, 14,000 hamlets in South Vietnam. But besides the increased number of Vietcong-controlled hamlets, there are also more 'contested' hamlets and fewer 'secured' hamlets than six months ago. The sensitivity of the situation in the countryside may be indicated by the fact that American Hamlet Evaluation System

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statistics, once highly publicized as indicators of pacification progress, now are classified."

The statistics actually tell much. At the height of U.S. combat troop participation in the war, with massive "search and destroy" campaigns, numbering thousands of U.S. troops, with tanks, heavy artillery, flamethrowers, and napalm bombing, whole villages and towns were burnt to the ground. The survivors were herded into refugee concentration camps. These were the "secured" hamlets U.S. generals once boasted about.

Today revolutionary forces are contending for control of the countryside from the Mekong Delta in the south to the northernmost province of Quangtri, where Saigon holds only the totally destroyed provincial capital. This life and death struggle cannot be resolved by a cease-fire.

Journal reporter Kann noted an unusually candid comment by a "Vietnamese who is a relative of President Thieu and one of the president's very closest advisers." The official stated: "The Communists don't want a cease-fire in place because they know that it would take a year of talks to work out the modalities, and while we talk of modalities, we would also be retaking territory. They are afraid that one night, while we are talking about modalities, we would go out and arrest and kill all their cadre."

It is true. And the fundamental reason is that the Saigon butchers remain in office only because of U.S.

military backing. Without U.S. support, there could be no question of their taking advantage of a cease-fire to step up their repression. Without that support, they will continue to attempt to crush the revolution, no matter what it takes.

It is impossible to determine what the outcome of the secret talks will be, and the antiwar movement must proceed from what is certain, not guesswork. The certainty is that peace cannot be achieved in Indochina until all U.S. military forces are withdrawn.

— The Militant



photo by Wendy Johnson

SMC to hear Bobby Seale

The Student Mobilization Committee to end the war in Southeast Asia (SMC) has called a conference at University of Toronto for Nov. 3, 4 and 5.

Already scheduled to speak are:

—Black Panther Bobby Seale, who is a member of the steering committee of the American National Peace Action Coalition.

—Gabriel Kolko, York University lecturer and author of "Roots of American Foreign Policy."

—Claire Culhane, author and antiwar activist, a former nurse in Vietnam.

—James Steele, Carleton University professor and author of "Rationale for War in Vietnam," a study of Canada's complicity.

—Fred Lovgren, the national coordinator of the U.S. Student Mobilization Committee.

The purpose is to assemble the cross-country campus and high school committees and unite them into a national coalition. The call for the conference has met a most enthusiastic response from student groups, academics, political groups and general antiwar activists.

labor Challenge

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HANDS OFF VIETNAM!

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Self-determination for the Vietnamese people!

No Canadian troops to Vietnam!

by GEORGE ADDISON

Oct. 28 — Hard on the heels of Henry Kissinger's announcement that "peace is at hand" in Vietnam, the U.S. State Department's favorite partner-in-crime, the Canadian government, made a predictable offer. External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp told the press that Canada is likely to participate in an international "peacekeeping" force in Vietnam.

"Canada is the most experienced in peacekeeping," Sharp said in an interview with the *Toronto Star* Oct. 26, "and we have been making suggestions based on our experience."

What kind of a force does Sharp envisage? He told newsmen that it could well be a "semi-military force," including, presumably, troops from Canada and several other countries.

The Oct. 28 *Toronto Star* quotes Prime Minister Trudeau as announcing "with relief and thankfulness" that Canada is ready to send peacekeeping troops to Vietnam, providing both sides agree on Canada's role.

A Canadian press article datelined Washington, Oct. 28, reports that U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers has consulted Canada and a number of other countries "which might play a useful role in the enforcement of an eventual Vietnam war settlement." Rogers was quoted as saying it was "quite possible that Canada will be one of the nations asked to help supervise the peace."

And the Canadian armed forces are dutifully moving to prepare plans to send Canadian troops to Vietnam. In Ottawa, a Defense Department spokesman said that longstanding contingency plans to move a Canadian peacekeeping force of up to 5,000 men to Vietnam are being dusted off. Particular attention is being given to getting the Canadian Airborne Regiment, on standby at Edmonton, to Vietnam.

The scene is being set for another chapter in the 18-year history of

Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war. What was previously diplomatic support and cover through Canada's membership on the International Control Commission and exporter of arms to aid the U.S. war machine now appears to be entering a new stage — sending Canadian troops. They may be called "peacekeepers," but they will in reality be a new occupying army, a new foreign intervention to block the struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination.

While the ceasefire agreement announced by both Hanoi and the U.S. has not been signed, and may be stalled by Nixon for some time to wring more concessions from the Vietnamese, or indeed may never come into effect, the provisions of the agreement clearly call for international "supervision and control." Neither side has publicly revealed the scope and nature of this international force, but the Washington view, as quoted in an article by William Beecher in the Oct. 29 *New York Times* assumes that it will be a significant military force:

"American intelligence reports are filled with intercepted messages indicating an intention on the part of the Vietcong to delay compliance with the ceasefire . . . Saigon's forces apparently intend to play a similar game . . . The only way to counteract this trend, as Mr. Kissinger made clear, is by having the projected international supervisory force in place at the start of the truce.

"Military planners here (in Washington) say there must be several thousand members of a peacekeeping force, equipped with helicopters and good communications and free to move everywhere in South Vietnam . . ."

Can Canada be a "peacemaker" in Vietnam? A look at Canada's record both in Vietnam and in other world "trouble-spots" shows that Canadian intervention could only be of a counter-revolutionary nature.

Since World War II, Canada has participated in every single United Nations "peacekeeping" operation. Its participation, however, was not that of an impartial, and neutral intermediary in conflicts, but that of a conscious agent of imperialism. Canada acted when bigger imperialist powers — the U.S., Britain, France, etc. — could not. Canada's aim was to crush revolutionary developments and stabilize the status quo.

A quotation from the Canadian government's 1964 White Paper on Defense shows how peacekeeping is seen as part of a general pro-imperialist strategy:

" . . . Communist pressure, including the active fomenting and support of so-called 'wars of liberation' in less-developed areas, may well continue and intensify. In such areas, instability will probably continue in the decade ahead and call for containment measures which do not lend themselves to Great Power or Alliance action. The peacekeeping responsibilities devolving upon the United Nations can be expected to grow correspondingly."

Thus, in the view of the Liberal government, participation in U.S.-dominated nuclear alliances like NATO and NORAD is in no way contradictory to "peacekeeping" operations. They both serve the same general end.

Canadian military personnel have joined "peacekeeping" operations, in Kashmir (1949 to the present), Korea (1940-54), Palestine (1954 to date), Indo-China (1954 to date), Egypt (1956-67), Lebanon (1958-59), Congo (1960-64), West New Guinea (1962-63), Yemen (1963-64), Cyprus (1964 to date) and India-Pakistan (1965-66).

The most blatantly pro-imperialist action was Canadian participation in the phony United Nations force in Korea. The force included 8,000 Canadians, but was commanded and financed by the

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U.S. The United States provided 50 percent of the troops (South Korea provided an additional 40 percent), 85 percent of the naval forces, 93 percent of the air forces, and paid for the entire operation. The U.N. authorization for the force was simply a formality. Like Vietnam, it was a brutal assault on the right of the Koreans to determine their own future, to provide a base for imperialist encirclement of the People's Republic of China.

Canadian participation in the Korean force helped give the appearance of legitimacy to U.S. aggression, as well as the obvious aid in terms of trained soldiers.

In the Congo, a United Nations force was created in 1960 on the request of its president Patrice Lumumba, supposedly to put down an imperialist-inspired secession of Katanga province under the Belgian puppet Moise Tshombe. The activity of the U.N. force was mainly aimed, however, at Lumumba's government. Canadian forces in particular, who were in charge of transport and communication, effectively cut Lumumba off from his supporters. Through a series of maneuvers, Lumumba was seized by his opponents and murdered, and by the time the U.N. was ready to withdraw, none other than Tshombe took power as the "saviour" of Congolese independence. The U.N. force had effectively turned the tables on the Congolese revolution.

Canadian troops have been ready for a "peacekeeping" role in Vietnam for some years now. Liberal cabinet ministers have hinted at such a force since 1968. Canadian forces have been training in "counter-insurgency" warfare for at least that long. CBC TV reported in July 1968, an exercise at Camp Petawawa, Ont. where Canadian soldiers were practising maneuvers in a mock Southeast Asian village. Troops have been sent to several tropical countries for similar "counter-insurgency" training.

The Canadian government has been the most consistent supporter of U.S. aggression in Vietnam throughout the history of the war. As a member of the International Control Commission, Canada provided a rationale for the



photo by MacInnis

puppet regime in Saigon, justified the buildup of U.S. forces, carried threats to Hanoi for the U.S., and even spied for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). These assertions have all been documented by the Canadian antiwar movement and the socialist press (see in particular the Sept. 11, 1972 issue of Labor Challenge).

Canada has no more right to be in Vietnam or Indo-China than the United States does. Canadian intervention could be nothing other than another denial of the right of the Indochinese to their self-determination.

Recognizing the pressing need to awaken Canadians to the designs of the

Trudeau government, the antiwar movement has already moved into action. On Oct. 28, 50 activists picketed the Canadian Airborne Regiment's barracks in Edmonton. Seventy protesters picketed the Liberal party headquarters in Toronto.

In Ottawa, the Vietnam Mobilization Committee picketed the National Defense Headquarters. Activity is being stepped up across the country, stressing emergency speakouts on university campuses.

Canadians must move to block any and all Canadian intervention into the affairs of the Indo-Chinese people.

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CANADIAN TROOPS TO VIETNAM? Government has renewed offer to send Canadians for "peacekeeping" mission in Indochina. Here, a Canadian soldier Cyprus.

Meaning of U.S.-Hanoi accord

by JON ROTHCHILD

For more than a week, the rumor mills in the world's capitals have been working overtime, making all they could out of a single theme: Henry Kissinger's secret talks with North Vietnamese leaders in Paris have resulted in an agreement; a cease-fire in the decade-long Indochina war was imminent. Reporters in Washington virtually besieged the White House, waiting for Richard Nixon to announce to the American people: Here is peace.

On Oct. 26, Radio Hanoi cut through the rumors and announced in an English-language broadcast that Hanoi and Washington had in fact come to an accord for ending the fighting: "With a view to making the negotiations progress, at a private meeting on Oct. 8, 1972, the DRVN took an extremely important initiative: It put forward a draft agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, and proposed that the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, and the government of the United States of America, with the concurrence of the government of the Republic of Vietnam, immediately agree upon, and sign this agreement to rapidly restore peace in Vietnam."

The agreement, which Hanoi insists the United States agreed to sign on Oct. 31, was summarized by North Vietnam in nine points. But its essential features can be described more briefly. There will be an immediate ceasefire in Vietnam, including a halt to all U.S. bombing; U.S. troops will be withdrawn within 60 days of the signing of the agreement; simultaneously, prisoners of war will be exchanged by the two sides.

The Thieu government will remain in office in Saigon and will continue to administer all territory under its control at the time the agreement is signed. The Provisional Revolutionary Government will be recognized as the lawful authority in all areas concurrently under its control. Neither of the two governments, according to the agreement, will attempt to expand its area of influence.

SOUTH VIETNAM ACCORD

In regard to the regime and social structure of South Vietnam,— the heart of the civil war itself — the agreement, according to Hanoi's radio broadcast, states the following (point four):

"The South Vietnamese people shall decide themselves the political future of South Vietnam through genuinely free and democratic general elections under international supervision; the United States is not committed to any political tendency or to any personality in South Vietnam, and it does not seek to impose a pro-American regime in Saigon;

"national reconciliation and concord will be achieved, the democratic liberties of the people ensured;

"an administrative structure called the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments, will be set up to promote the implementation of the signed agreements by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the government of the Republic of Vietnam, and to organize the general elections, the two South Vietnamese parties will consult about the formation of councils at a lower level;

"the question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam shall be settled by the two South Vietnamese parties in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, equality and mutual respect, without foreign interference, in accordance with the postwar situation;

"among the questions to be discussed by the two South Vietnamese parties are steps to reduce the military numbers on both sides and to demobilize the troops being reduced;

"the two South Vietnamese parties shall sign an agreement on the internal matters of South Vietnam as soon as possible and will do their utmost to accomplish this within three months after the cease-fire comes into effect."

In this agreement, the United States made two concessions to Hanoi: U.S. forces will be withdrawn from Vietnam, and North Vietnamese forces will remain in South Vietnam for an indefinite period. The fact that U.S. imperialism was forced to yield on these



Henry Kissinger

points represents a significant achievement for both the Vietnamese people and for the worldwide antiwar movement.

HANOI'S CONCESSIONS

But Hanoi made concessions as well. The essence of them is contained in point four of the agreement. The long-standing demand that the cessation of military hostilities be accompanied by a political solution to the civil war in the south was dropped.

Hanoi and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front abandoned their demand that the Thieu regime be eliminated, and their insistence on the formation of a coalition government comprising elements of the present Saigon administration, the Provisional Revolutionary Government and "neutralist" forces.

Hanoi has acceded to the continued existence of the Thieu regime, and thus to the continued existence of an imperialist foothold in South Vietnam. The basic character of that concession was universally recognized in the U.S. press, which generally expressed satisfaction with the terms of the accord.

The Wall Street Journal (Oct. 27), the voice of a substantial section of the U.S. financial elite, called the settlement terms "quite favorable," and "an honest reflection of the battlefield result." Hanoi's offer, the Journal's editors noted, reflected a "will to settle;" the United States appeared to be on the verge of achieving its "human objectives."

The New York Times (Oct. 27), for several years a critic of Nixon's Viet-

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nam policy and recently an endorser of the candidacy of George McGovern, also greeted the proposed agreements: "Long-overdue concessions on both sides have produced a document that realistically recognizes a military stalemate and transfers the struggle for power in South Vietnam to the political arena where it has always belonged."

Even the New York Daily News, (Oct. 27), which represents little within the U.S. ruling class but whose opinions on this matter have significance because of the editors' notorious jingoist politics, endorsed the agreement as a Nixon victory: "In essence, Hanoi accepted the proposal Nixon made last May 8, when he ordered intensified bombing of North Vietnam and mining of northern harbors."

The real cause of the jubilation in the U.S. capital and press lies not only in the nature of the agreement that appears to

have been reached, but in the fact the negotiations come to any conclusion at all. In fact, no matter what its contents, it lends an aura of legitimacy to the U.S. invasion of Indochina, and gives the impression that the United States had a justified reason for intervening.

Newspapers, and even sections of the ruling class, have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the war had been a total loss and that the United States was forced to leave Indochina with no cover whatsoever for its war crimes. Suddenly, the proposed agreement is produced saving U.S. "face" and granting a formal recognition of the premise that the United States did in fact have something to negotiate in Indochina.

The North Vietnamese leaders themselves, while attempting to portray the agreement as a basic victory for the liberation struggle, recognize that they had made important concessions. The Oct. 30 New York Times published an article by Richard J. Dornet, co-director of Institute for Policy Studies and a long-time critic of U.S. policy in Indochina. Dornet, along with several other figures around the antiwar movement, were invited Oct. 27 to "hear a clarification of the views" of the North Vietnamese and PRG delegations in Paris on the subject of the agreement.

North Vietnamese deputy minister Nguyen Minh Vy and PRG foreign minister Nguyen Thi Binh, Dornet wrote, "recognize that a standstill cease-fire involves risks, particularly since they have relaxed their previous

demand that president Nguyen Van Thieu's regime and 'Thieu's repressive apparatus' be dismantled before the fighting stops."

That the Vietnamese have made major concessions to U.S. imperialism, dropping even their demand for a dubious coalition government, is indisputable. The forces compelling the concessions are not difficult to locate. They are in Washington, in Moscow, and in Peking.

The Vietnamese people have, during the past decade, provided the world with an unparalleled example of courage and heroism in resisting, virtually alone, the most massive campaign of destruction ever seen in human history. The intensity of the assault by the world's mightiest power against a small, underdeveloped country stands not only as a monument to the courage of the Vietnamese people and as a condemnation of the barbarism of U.S. imperialism, but also as a mark of shame for the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking.

The depths of the destruction caused by U.S. imperialism has yet to be established with certainty. Statistics on the number of NLF and North Vietnamese troops killed are unavailable, as are reliable estimates on the number of innocent civilians murdered. But just as important, it is not known what effect the bombing has had on the morale of the South Vietnamese population. Have the leaders of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front concluded that political conditions among the population make further intense fighting impossible?

USSR-CHINA BETRAYAL

If that is the case, and if their estimate is accurate, the shame is that not of the Vietnamese people, but of the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking who have allowed the U.S. ruling class to perpetuate such horrors.

Moscow and Peking's betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution has been epitomized in the role those capitals have played in extorting the present agreement from Hanoi. It is but a part of a long history of perfidity.

When the bourgeois regime in Egypt ascertained further Israeli expansion, Moscow sent weaponry of an advanced type that was never delivered to the revolutionary forces in South Vietnam nor to the workers' state in North Vietnam. Egypt was provided with ground-to-sea missiles that effectively neutralized the power of the Israeli

navy. The Vietnamese, who could have used such equipment to drive the seventh fleet from their shores, had to rely on conventional artillery.

The Egyptian regime received Mig-23 jet-fighters that are superior to the U.S. F-4 Phantom, even though operation of them was restricted to Soviet pilots. The North Vietnamese had to make do with obsolescent earlier-generation aircraft. The most advanced surface-to-air missiles were delivered

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to Cairo, but not to Hanoi.

The Peking bureaucracy, while doubtless not able to provide military aid on the level that Moscow could have, doled out its contributions with an eyedropper. In the spring of 1972, the Maoist bureaucracy, while claiming to have given the Vietnamese every assistance possible, came up with \$300 million worth of military aid for Pakistani butcher, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

The Pentagon Papers demonstrate that at each stage in the escalation of the war, U.S. strategists paused to weigh carefully the response from Moscow and Peking, always fearing that a full response would cost the United States more than the war was worth. In each case, Moscow and Peking's failure to respond has paved the way for a fresh escalation.

SOLIDARITY UNDERCUT

But the Moscow-Peking betrayal was not only military. Both capitals, and especially Moscow, unfortunately command the allegiance of millions in the international workers movement, millions who could have been mobilized in a massive worldwide campaign to force U.S. imperialism out of Indochina. But no call for a united-front defense of the Vietnamese revolution was forthcoming from the Stalinist bureaucracies. In fact, in many countries, the political parties in solidarity with Moscow and Peking opposed each action.

With such a history, it should surprise no one that pressure from Moscow and Peking played a role in Hanoi's acceptance of the current agreement. In the Oct. 27 Washington Post, correspondent Stanley Karnow noted: "The Soviet

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Will Vietnam agreement bring peace?

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Union and China played a significant behind-the-scenes role in persuading the North Vietnamese leaders to work toward the compromise settlement of the war that now appears to be emerging."

In the opinion of U.S. "analysts," Nixon's Peking and Moscow trips, Karnow wrote, were "designed, in part at least, to urge the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union to exert pressure on North Vietnam to agree to a compromise end to the war. . . .

"A key incentive offered to Peking was the promise made by the president during his China trip in February that peace in Vietnam would result in the withdrawal of U.S. forces from the island of Taiwan. . . .

"Both negative and positive signs after that indicated plainly that the Chinese were eager to see a Vietnam settlement, and they reportedly communicated this view to the Hanoi leaders in private communications as well as in public statements." The most obvious Chinese statement in support of a deal with Nixon at the expense of the Indochinese revolution came in July, when Premier Chou En-lai praised the Korean armistice as a model of international relations.

Victor Louis, the Soviet "journalist" who is widely believed to be an agent of the Soviet Security Police, wrote last June 16 that the North Vietnamese had tried to "undermine" the Moscow-Washington summit with an offensive in South Vietnam.

The assessment that Moscow and Peking have pressured Hanoi into signing the present agreement was nearly universal in the U.S. press. Even normally anti-Soviet writers, such as the syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novack, had some kind words for the Kremlin on this score. In their Oct. 28 column Evans and Novack wrote: "Accordingly, Nixon's political judgment seems to be vindicated that Hanoi, under pressure from Peking, Moscow, and the brutally effective American bombing and blockade, would agree to a genuine

One viewer of Nixon's television speech announcing the mining of North Vietnam's waters, Keatley wrote, was "the visiting Russian Trade Minister, dining that night at the home of Congress Secretary



RESULTS OF U.S. BARRAGE. North Vietnamese city Haiphong has taken greatest bombardment of any urban area. Twenty

thousand buildings have been destroyed, and 70,000 people have been killed, injured or made homeless.

Peter Peterson. After hearing Mr. Nixon's words, he turned to his host and said: 'Let's get back to business.' "

Keatley also reports that during Nixon's Moscow trip, Russian propagandists traveling with U.S. reporters "privately berated Hanoi for trying to sabotage cooperation between the super powers. As intended, such talk got into print."

The Kremlin's treachery was even extended into the wrangling of the last week in October, when Hanoi was pressuring the United States to sign the proposed agreement immediately. Nixon was stalling, demanding more talks. On Oct. 27, Soviet Premier Kosygin declared that he hoped there would soon be further Vietnam negotiations. The New York Times gave that story the following sub headline: "Premier, in Effect, Backs U.S. View on Another Round in Peace Talks."

NO PEACE

But despite the intentions of Moscow and Peking, it is apparent that the current agreement cannot produce peace in Vietnam. At most, it can result in a temporary lull in the fighting.

The accord recognizes two administrations, and more importantly, two armies, in South Vietnam: Thieu's puppet outfit and the North Vietnamese army, along with the guerrillas of the National Liberation Front.

The "neutralist, democratic" elements who are supposed to constitute the "third force" in the National Council of Reconciliation and Concord are mostly confined in Thieu's jails or, if they are not, they

soon will be.

There is no doubt that Thieu, in an effort to consolidate his control, will systematically eliminate all opposition. The fact that the proposed accord does not dismantle his repressive apparatus and stipulates that it may continue to be supplied with U.S. weapons gives him a free rein to do so.

In fact, the bloody repression is already underway. "Saigon and most of the tropical countryside around it have suddenly broken out in the red and yellow of thousands of South Vietnamese flags the

Government has ordered displayed under threat of arrest," Craig Whitney wrote in the Oct. 29 New York Times. "Each family, the Government says, must have two. It recently reminded the people that to display or even have a Vietcong flag was punishable by death."

Whitney reported that very shortly "each person will be required to produce a Government flag along with an identification card when asked by the police." Those who fail to display the national flag in front of their homes, the Government announced Oct. 29, "will be punished according to the laws in force."

REPRESSION MOUNTS

In her interview with Richard Barnet, foreign minister Binh charged that Thieu had unleashed an extermination campaign against South Vietnam's more than 200,000 political prisoners. "Women and children are being tortured and killed in the Saigon jails," she said.

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"The U.S. is equally responsible, for Thieu is not capable of carrying out such a policy alone."

The release of civilian political prisoners, according to the agreement, is a matter of negotiation between Thieu and the PRG.

As the Thieu-organized bloodbath began, the United States made clear its intention to rush all possible military aid to Saigon before any cease-fire goes into effect. The Oct. 27 New York Times reported that the Defense Department is accelerating shipments of "jets, tanks, and artillery previously scheduled for delivery" to ensure that the equipment arrives "before any cease-fire closes off reinforcement."

Assured of massive U.S. support, the Thieu regime has given ample indication of how it expects to implement the "national reconciliation and concord" called for in the agreement. On Oct. 25 Washington Post correspondent Thomas Liptmann cabled from Saigon explaining the Saigon post-cessate-fire program: "The Communists are going to be free to move around," one official familiar with the cease-fire preparations said, "but not free to act as Communists."

"A few details of the government's instruction on preparations for the anticipated cease-fire, made available today, indicate that president Thieu's government would view any cease-fire as the occasion for new political restrictions designed to strengthen its own position.

"It would be up to Thieu's province chiefs, officers of the national police and provincial representatives to determine what constituted subversive activities. Almost any form of agitation or political opposition could be construed as Communist-inspired and subversive, and result in quick arrests."

The United States will doubtless support Thieu on this point, claiming that any activity by the liberation forces within Saigon-controlled territory constitutes a violation of the cease-fire. In turn, Thieu would regard any activity by the "neutralist" forces as NLF activity. "A television program directed at South Vietnamese soldiers," Liptmann wrote, "... warned that the Communists would incite workers to strike, demand release of political prisoners, and call for the abolition of emergency decree laws promulgated during this year's military crisis. The way things are done in South Vietnam, it is only a small step from there to concluding

that anyone participating in such activities must be a Communist."

BLOODBATH UNDERWAY

The much-discussed postwar bloodbath is now underway. But it is Thieu and his U.S. mentors, not the Liberation forces, who are wielding the executioner's axe. The notion that the Saigon regime will allow itself to be ousted through a gradual process of peaceful politicking is preposterous. Full-scale resumption of the civil war is only a short step from the Saigon repression. Thieu can no more permit the indefinite posting of a hostile army in South Vietnam than he can a peaceful political process in Saigon itself. The Hanoi-Washington accord recognizes two governments and two armies and instructs them to settle their differences through an election. The lack of reality in such a plan in the long-term sense is obvious. But even in the immediate sense, the agreement is likely to be unworkable. Significant areas of South Vietnam are under Saigon's control during the day and the PRG's control at night. Even in the Mekong Delta, the country's most populous region, the regime's "pacification" program lies in ruin. In such situations, it is not simply a stretch of territory over which control is disputed, but a village-by-village struggle for power. There is little doubt that peaceful political processes would hand such areas over to the Liberation forces. Consequently, Thieu will not permit such processes to unfold. The repression unleashed in the areas under Saigon's firm control would tend to spread geographically, first to contested areas, then to areas recognized in the agreement as North Vietnamese sanctuaries.

What would be Hanoi's response to this repression? Will the North Vietnamese army come to the aid of local NLF guerrillas when Thieu breaks the cease-fire? Will the North Vietnamese defend their own base areas or will they gradually withdraw? Will Hanoi put pressure on the NLF, comparable to the pressure Moscow and Peking put on Hanoi itself? Is the NLF infrastructure sufficiently intact to take on Thieu's army, the latter being deprived of the assistance of U.S. bombing? To what extent has the South Vietnamese population been demoralized, temporarily, by the U.S. bombing?

The answers to all these questions will be revealed in the course of the struggle itself.

SECRET AGREEMENTS

Also unclear at present is the

question of secret clauses. At a news conference held Oct. 27 in Paris, North Vietnamese spokesman Nguyen Thanh Le waved the mimeographed document and said, "You can judge for yourself. You can see how thick it is. This is the agreement to be signed." Le refused to divulge the number of pages, but reporters said it appeared to be "about half an inch thick."

There are thus three possible levels of agreement: the summary broadcast by Radio Hanoi, the full text of the public agreement (which Le said would be published when it was signed), and secret clauses.

One aspect of the agreement, however, is perfectly clear: the most massive destructive force ever assembled — the U.S. fleet and its air-force installations in Thailand — will remain posed for renewed aggression. Henry Kissinger told reporters gathered at his Oct. 27 news conference that "there are no limitations on American forces in Thailand or on the fleet."

The Pentagon admits there are 39,000 U.S. troops attached to the fleet and 45,000 positioned in Thailand. The four aircraft carriers in the fleet carry 240 fighter-bombers. The Thailand-based armada contains 500 combat planes, 50 B52s among them. Should Washington decide that the Vietnamese people have broken the cease-fire by resisting Thieu's bloodbath, the planes and troops are ready. The removal of troops from Indochina itself will in no way restrict the U.S. ability to resume bombing at a moment's notice.

The past history of the Indochina war leaves no doubt that, should the civil war break out again and should the U.S. puppet forces be getting the worst of it, U.S. imperialism will not hesitate to resume where it left off.

Since Moscow and Peking have demonstrated their unwillingness to act in face of such an eventuality, there is but one international force capable of staying the hand of the U.S. rulers — the international antiwar movement.

The North Vietnamese leaders themselves have recognized this. In the midst of the peace speculation of the last week in October, Nguyen Minh Vy sent a telegram to the offices of the U.S. National Peace Action Coalition, which has called for international mass demonstrations against the war on Nov. 18. "Firmly believe," Vy cabled, "your activities will contribute an important part to mobilization of American opinion demanding Nixon administration end immediately Vietnam war and support to Nguyen Van Thieu puppet regime. Withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam. Let

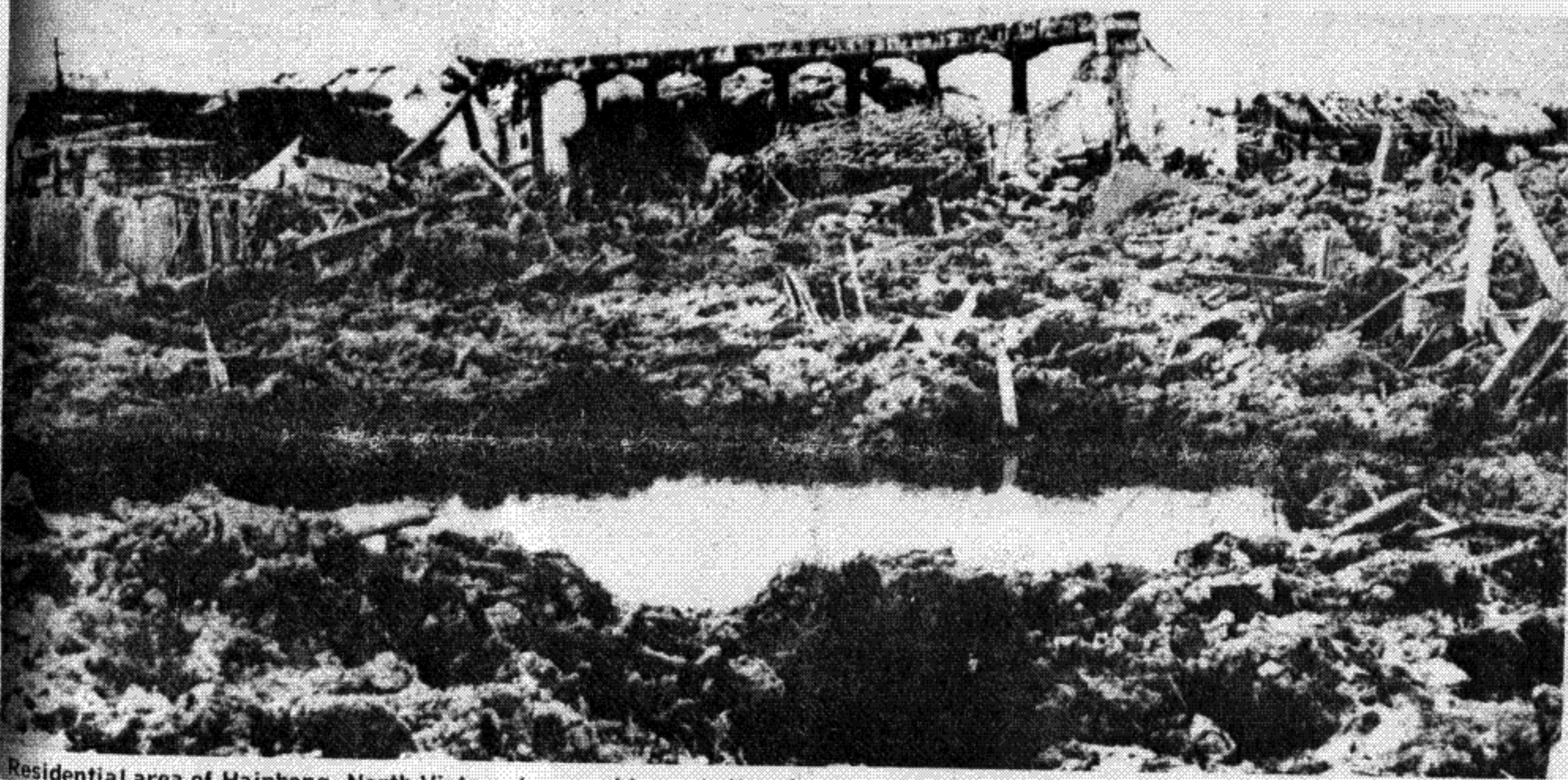
South Vietnamese people settle own affairs without foreign interference. Wish you every success."

MAINTAIN ANTIWAR PRESSURE

The terms of the proposed "peace" accord make it more crucial than ever to keep up the antiwar pressure. Should the international antiwar movement decide it has won, congratulate itself, and fold up, this would give renewed encouragement to the White House. Only the mobilization of solidarity on the international scale, combined with continued struggle of the Vietnamese people, can end for good the imperialist intervention in Indochina. The Vietnamese may be forced to make concessions, but the antiwar movement can declare in the most positive terms: U.S. imperialism has no right to negotiate anything for the people of Indochina.

—Intercontinental Press

Build antiwar movement to defend Indochinese



Residential area of Haiphong, North Vietnam's second largest city, after recent U.S. bombing. Small pond is bomb crater.

by THE EDITORS

Nov. 15 — With nearly 550 bombing raids yesterday, the United States is continuing the frenzied air attacks against Vietnam that it began in the first days of November with the hypocritical excuse of an "enemy build-up"

Pouring aircraft into puppet dictator Thieu's hands, such quantities that the Saigon regime will shortly have the third-largest air force in the world, the U.S. is deploying its own bombers over the whole of Indochina, setting new records of destruction. On Nov. 5, nearly 200 B-52 strikes hit Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, dropping 2.5 million pounds of bombs, along with 120 fighter-bomber attacks. Yesterday's raids included 40 B-52 attacks, five of them near Saigon. The day before, more than 100 of the horrendous stratofortress bombers struck throughout Indochina.

The Toronto Globe and Mail, which only a week ago was editorializing that the war was over, now is taking notice of the real situation — increased bombing, diplomatic pressure to wring more concessions out of Hanoi, and the massive buildup of arms for the Saigon regime. In an editorial today entitled "Peace seems in retreat," the Globe calls present U.S. moves "hardly a harbinger of peace."

The Canadian antiwar movement could have told the Globe and Mail — and in fact has been doing so consistently with its demonstrations and conferences — that neither the U.S. maneuvers at the peace table nor its military escalation, nor Nixon's sanctimonious election speeches mean peace. They are careful steps in the unchanged U.S. plan to win the war by whatever means are necessary.

The fact is that Nixon is upping the ante on the Vietnamese. Having squeezed significant concessions out of them at the negotiating table with the help of pressure from the Moscow and Peking bureaucrats, and having been safely elected on a promise of peace, Nixon is demanding yet another pound of flesh. Thieu's

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Editorial

Self-determination

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supposed reticence to sign the Paris accords is the U.S. excuse for stalling. Thieu wants — that is, Nixon wants — the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from the South, the abandonment of the NLF guerrillas to the bloody attacks of a Saigon regime armed to the teeth and led by U.S. "civilian advisors."

The key question in Vietnam — unsolved in 1945, unsolved by the 1954 Geneva accords, pushed back by the years of escalation — remains self-determination for the Vietnamese people. Until they are allowed this basic right to decide their own future, there will be no peace in Indochina. As long as the U.S. is in Indochina, and the Saigon regime, which survives only because of American backing, remains, the "peace" of a U.S.-imposed settlement can mean only the "peace" of genocidal destruction.

Another force is apparently willing to help out the U.S. if necessary — Canada. The Trudeau government has put Canadian troops on alert for Vietnam "peacekeeping" duty. External Affairs minister Sharp says he expects Canada will be part of an international force to "supervise and control" a possible ceasefire agreement.

Canada, with its 18-year record of criminal complicity in the crimes of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, can be expected to continue that role, in enforcing an unfair, imposed settlement on the Vietnamese. Any foreign intervention, no matter what the uniform, would constitute a denial of the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination.

The widespread illusions fostered by Nixon and Kissinger, that peace is imminent, has had a sharply negative effect on the ability of the antiwar movement to bring people into the streets against the war. These illusions also put severe pressure on the antiwar movement itself to give up its struggle. Some elements in the movement, notably the Communist party, have concluded that a Vietnamese victory is now assured, and all that is necessary is for Nixon to sign the agreement. This was extended by CP forces at the Student Mobilization Committee conference Nov. 4-5 in refusing to oppose the sending of Canadian "peacekeeping" troops to Vietnam.

But while it is a difficult period for antiwar forces, it is heartening to see that the main section of the antiwar movement has not accommodated itself to Kissinger's agreement, and is proceeding to build demonstrations and rallies for Nov. 18. The major community and campus antiwar committees across Canada are building these actions on the basis of the only clear and principled demands — **SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE INDOCHINESE PEOPLE; WITHDRAW ALL U.S. FORCES AND MATERIEL FROM ALL SOUTHEAST ASIA NOW; END CANADA'S COMPLICITY IN THE WAR; NO CANADIAN TROOPS TO VIETNAM.**

Debate at student conference**Build the antiwar movement!**

by RICHARD THOMPSON

"We have to hit the streets on Nov. 18 - whoever wins the U.S. presidential election," Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale told a 500-strong, mainly student audience during his feature speech to the Nov. 4-5 cross-country conference of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia (SMC) in Toronto. "We're not going to accept any promises," said Seale, urging full support for the Nov. 18 international antiwar actions, "we want massive demonstrations in the streets to show whoever is elected that we demand troop withdrawal."

Two hundred people registered for the whole conference. The participants, from Montreal to Vancouver, included representatives from 21 organizations. Seventeen campuses and eight high schools were represented.

A number of major figures in the Canadian antiwar movement participated in the conference including Gabriel Kolko, York University professor and author of two books on U.S. foreign policy; James Steele, Carleton University professor; author Claire Culhane



photo by Jeff White

STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE. Conference at University of Toronto, Nov. 4-5.

included Sean Keane of the Irish Republican Clubs, Tran Thieu of the Association of Vietnamese Patriots and Fred Lovgren, National Coordinator of the U.S. Student Mobilization Committee Against the War in Southeast Asia.

BROAD REPRESENTATION

The broad representation at the conference, held only a week after the reports of an imminent "ceasefire agreement" in Vietnam, was the fruit of the consistent work done by the antiwar movement in Canada in exposing the truth about the war and Canada's role in it. The formation of a cross-country student antiwar organization at this critical juncture of the war, with the Vietnamese facing the heaviest bombing in history and the betrayal of their erstwhile allies, China and the USSR, powerfully demonstrates the strength and depth of the Canadian antiwar movement.

While the conference showed the strength of the antiwar movement the debates and discussions of action proposals also revealed in an indirect way all the pressures on the movement. The various action proposals submitted to the conference posed very different perspectives for the antiwar movement.

A small group from the International Caucus of Labor Committees refused to speak at all to the question of how to best build the antiwar movement. Instead they

proposed that the SMC "must be based on a working class-wide program." The effect of this would be to turn the antiwar movement into a political party. "We already have the New Democratic Party," replied George Addison, "and I'm also building a revolutionary organization, the League for Socialist Action. But no political party can substitute for the antiwar movement which can bring together all those opposed to the war, regardless of their views on other questions."

COMMUNIST PARTY PROPOSAL

A more serious and treacherous proposal was submitted by members of the Communist Party. The CP proposed two amendments to the action proposal of Barry Godson, central organizer of the conference who was later elected cross-country coordinator. The first amendment was to delete the statement that "after years of war the Vietnamese have their backs to the wall and are being forced to make concessions." Speaking for this proposal, Danny Goldstick argued that the present negotiations represent the total defeat of the U.S. and that it is now getting out of Vietnam.

This is false. The U.S. is not getting out of Vietnam. The present proposals would guarantee the U.S. a permanent presence in Vietnam and this presence is reinforced by

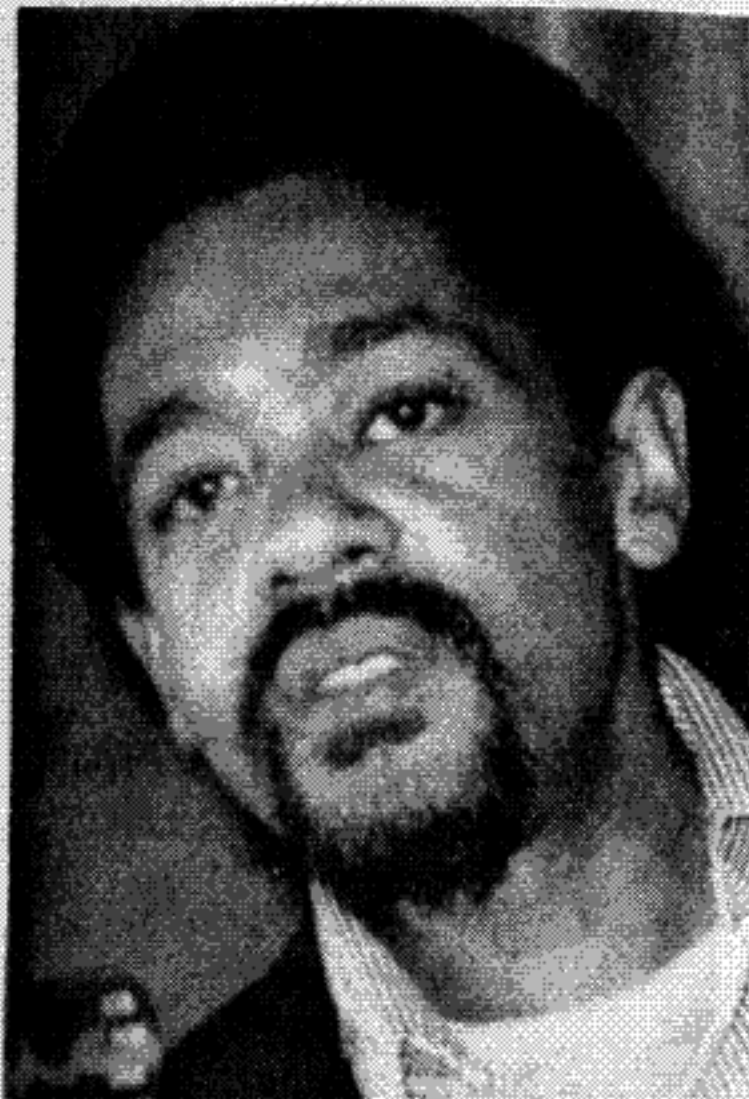


photo by Jeff White

Bobby Seale

who served as an advisor to a Canadian hospital in Vietnam; Labor Challenge writer George Addison; and a representative of "Project Antiwar" at McGill University. Other guest speakers

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tens of thousands of troops and massive firepower in the many bases in Thailand and surrounding Indochina. Goldstick's statement that the Vietnamese do not have their backs to the wall contradicts statements by the Vietnamese themselves that they are being forced to make compromises. As the Godson proposal explained: "Any concessions are not granted to the U.S. but wrung out of the Vietnamese under the threat of genocidal bombing and the havoc wreaked by years of napalm, defoliants and Mylai massacres."

The second amendment called for dropping the demand: "No Canadian troops to Vietnam." Using twisted logic, Goldstick argued that the Vietnamese might want Canadian troops and thus, the argument goes, it is in the interests of self-determination that the antiwar movement not adopt the demand of no Canadian troops.

'CRIMES AGAINST PEACE'

In an earlier panel James Steele argued that under the Nuremberg trials precedent Canada was guilty of "crimes against peace." There can be no neutral "peacekeeping" troops from Canada, said Steele. Many delegates described Canada's role in the war, a role of lying, spying and in every way aiding the war aims of U.S. imperialism. "Canadian troops can have only one purpose," said U. of T. activist Cliff Mack, "to come to the aid of imperialism in maintaining its foothold in Vietnam. How would Canadians feel if 5,000 French troops were sent to 'supervise' Canadian elections? Goldstick claims to be supporting self-determination, but self-determination can mean only one thing — that all foreign troops and materiel get out of Vietnam and leave the Vietnamese to settle their own affairs."

Henry Malta of the Edmonton Indochina Action Committee, pointed out that the troops in Edmonton who are on alert for possible Vietnam duty are the same troops sent to Quebec during the War Measures Crisis.

Adoption by the antiwar movement of the CP proposal would give the Canadian Government the green light to proceed with its preparations. The line of the Canadian CP shows very clearly the

logic of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism — an unabashed embrace of the Canadian imperialist army. It is a further fruit of Nixon's visit to Moscow. In terms of military aid to Vietnam the Soviet Union has provided the Vietnamese with only a fraction of what they gave to capitalist Egypt. Like the Mao bureaucracy they have left the Vietnamese defenseless in the face of the imperialist onslaught. They greeted Nixon in Moscow only days after he mined the harbors of North Vietnam saying, in effect: "Go ahead and destroy Vietnam. We're more interested in trade, aid and peaceful coexistence." Instead of mobilizing the masses in defense of the Vietnamese revolution and an extension of the world revolution the Moscow bureaucrats have sought deals with imperialism to promote their own narrow interests.

OLD MOLE PROPOSAL

Another proposal to the conference was made by the Old Mole, a group of socialists based mainly at the University of Toronto. The Old Mole proposed escalating the demands of the antiwar movement to include the demand: "Victory to the Indochinese Revolution." They argued that the demands of the Godson proposal, "U.S. Out Now" and "End Canada's Complicity," could not guarantee the victory of the Vietnamese revolution and could not end the war. As Young Socialist Al Cappe pointed out, the Thieu regime is able to exist in Vietnam only through the massive intervention of imperialism which has spent billions of dollars to defend the puppet-dictator. "Removal of U.S. and allied forces," Cappe said, "is an essential condition for victory of the revolution and that is why self-determination is the key question."

The Old Mole's proposal would turn the antiwar movement into a recruiting ground for revolutionaries but would do little to aid the struggle of the Vietnamese. The proposal posed the need for "solidarity" actions, but the best solidarity — the only kind with any real meaning — is a movement which can do something to defend the Vietnamese. These are the kind of actions that the Vietnamese have asked the international antiwar movement to organize. As the Pentagon Papers revealed, the worldwide antiwar movement has

become an important factor restraining the hand of U.S. imperialism. It is this key factor that Old Mole's proposal rejected.

At the basis of the Old Mole's position is a failure to understand the meaning of self-determination. The antiwar movement is not called upon to determine the government of Vietnam. Its task is to build a mass movement to defend the Vietnamese. In Canada that means ending Canada's role in the war, which would have a tremendous effect in weakening imperialism's grasp on Vietnam.

After a full discussion, the Godson position, supplemented by two other proposals, was carried overwhelmingly. Together with the conference workshops, which generated many ideas for building the antiwar movement in the coming period, the Godson proposal spelled out clearly the main task of building the Nov. 18 demonstrations in conjunction with the international protests against the war and of continuing to extend the student base of the antiwar movement until it achieves its aims, self-determination for the Vietnamese.

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No Canadian troops to Indochina!



CANADIAN TROOPS NEXT? Trudeau government is attempting to build up public support for further Canadian intervention in Vietnam.

by GEORGE ADDISON

With the Nov. 19 announcement by Indonesia, and the Dec. 1 statement from Poland that they are willing to be members of a new International Control Commission in Vietnam, should a cease-fire come into effect, there are increasing moves by the Canadian government to build up public sympathy for a similar announcement of its own.

There have been many indications of the intention of the Trudeau government on this score — from External Affairs minister Sharp's first Oct. 25 announcement that Canada "would look favorably on a request to join a new ICC," to his most recent statement on Nov. 26, that such a force would cost Canadians tens of millions of dollars, but he was sure that taxpayers would support the cost.

What is the holdup? First, of course, the nature of this international supervisory force is still under discussion in the continuing negotiations between the U.S. and North Vietnam. Secondly, Canada has raised a number of conditions for its participation on the force.

Speaking on Nov. 2, External Affairs minister Sharp laid out four Canadian conditions. These are, according to Sharp:

1. The makeup and responsibilities must be accepted by all parties involved in the Vietnam war. The Saigon regime has yet to announce its agreement.
2. The commission must report to a "suitable" international authority. This would presumably be set up by an international conference, to be convened within 30 days of the cease-fire, under the proposed agreement.
3. The procedures for reporting must be "workable." Apparently Canada does not want a requirement for unanimous agreement on the commission.
4. The commission must have freedom to move throughout North and South Vietnam.

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Sharp added Nov. 21 that he does not expect that the Canadian troops assigned to duty in Vietnam would bear arms. The task, said Sharp, would be "to observe and report, not to keep the peace."

We should note that the question of arms is somewhat secondary, since the particular task of the Canadian force would be mainly technical (communications, air transport, etc.) and political (covering up U.S. and Saigon violations of the agreements, legitimizing rigged elections, supporting phony territorial claims, etc.), which do not necessarily require an armed force.

But there are important reasons why the Canadian government, even with an unarmed force, is reluctant to get embroiled in Vietnam. Those reasons are political. The government cannot afford to be openly seen by Canadians as an agent for U.S. imperialism in Indochina.

This was expressed by Canadian government officials in a series of secret off-the-record briefings in Ottawa, reported by Toronto Star

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"We must not falter. For all that we have risked and all that we have gained over the years now hangs in the balance . . ."

...peacekeeping

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correspondent Jack Cahill on Nov. 25: "The Canadian government," wrote Cahill, "appears to be deeply concerned that it might be trapped by the U.S. government as the scapegoat for the Vietnam war through Canadian participation in a Vietnam peacekeeping force . . ." External Affairs officers "are convinced that the Paris negotiations, if they come to a conclusion, will not necessarily result in a lasting peace."

An editorial in the Toronto Globe and Mail expressed the hesitations even more clearly: "Whether or not the Canadian government has annoyed Washington with its doubts about the Vietnam ceasefire police force does not matter greatly. The wrath of even the fabulous Henry Kissinger would be as nothing in this country compared with the public outrage if it became apparent some months hence that Canada had got itself involved in the bloody mess of Vietnam only so that the United States could get out of it . . ."

What the government officials and the Globe fear most is this "public outrage" of the Canadian people. The hesitations, nowhere to be seen over past "peacekeeping" missions, pays tribute to the growth of a widespread antiwar feeling in this country. They fear the possibility of a mass antiwar movement that could create the same social unrest in Canada that the American an-

tiwar movement has brought about in that country.

There has to date been a remarkable lack of public enthusiasm to the government's plans. The big business press has generally counselled caution. While the actions of the antiwar movement have been small, reflecting the widespread illusions of the population that peace is indeed "at hand," the continuation of these actions portend grave dangers for the Canadian ruling class.

One of the few sources of real enthusiasm for a Canadian force has been the Communist Party of Canada.

An editorial in the Nov. 8 Canadian Tribune, which reflects the views of the Communist Party, is entitled "Canada has a duty to the Vietnamese." The Tribune outlines what it believes are three duties Canada has: first to demand an end to the war; secondly, to help supervise a peaceful settlement of the war; and thirdly, to contribute materially to the restoration of Vietnam.

No one can argue with the demand that Canada dissociate itself from U.S. aggression, and indemnify the Vietnamese for the crimes perpetrated against them. But the second "duty" the Tribune presses on the government is quite another thing. Here is how the Tribune describes its position:

"Our second duty lies in relation to the future of Vietnam when the

aggressors finally are compelled to make peace and withdraw their armed forces. It is being suggested that Canada be one of four countries to supervise the carrying out of the peace agreement provisions under the United Nations, a member of a

new International Control Commission. We think that Canada should accept that responsibility."

The editors of the Tribune, in declaring their support for Canadian intervention in Vietnam do admit that Canada "did not carry out its duties in the last ICC with honor, to say the least." That is indeed saying the least.

Furthermore, the Tribune says that Canadian representatives "acted as a foil for U.S. military intervention." Then the clarion call: "This must not happen again."

The way to see that Canada does not once again act as agent, apologist, partner-in-crime with U.S. aggression is to oppose any Canadian intervention, no matter what the uniform, flag or agreement. Is the experience of the last 18 years in Vietnam not enough to convince any serious opponent of the U.S. aggression that Canada's role would be to support the aims of U.S. imperialism?

That's what happened following the Geneva Agreements of 1954. Canada was chosen through U.S.-Soviet-Chinese connivance as a member of the International Control Commission. This was imposed, as the Pentagon papers show, over the objections of the Vietnamese revolutionaries, who opposed any foreign supervision.

Canada's role on the ICC was to block any action that could benefit

the Vietnamese or expose the United States — from presenting minority reports backing the legitimacy of the U.S. puppet regime in Saigon, to J. Blair Seaborn's carrying threats to Hanoi for the U.S. State Department. There is not one incident since 1954 where it could be said that the Canadian representatives on the ICC opposed U.S. interests.

The Communist Party and others rest their scandalous position in favor of Canadian intervention on the widespread illusion among supporters of the Vietnamese that the settlement represents a victory of the liberation forces. As a series of Labor Challenge articles have shown, this is not the case — the settlement is being wrung out of the Vietnamese through the genocidal bombing of the U.S., combined with pressure from the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies. This is an imposed settlement.

A "supervisory" or "peacekeeping" force in Vietnam if designed to buy political time for U.S. imperialism. It disarms world opinion and prepares the way for new aggressions against the Vietnamese struggle.

Canada must be prevented from participating in this force. Its role hitherto has been that of an accomplice in U.S. war crimes. It has no right or "duty" to intervene in Vietnam.

The liberation struggle of the Vietnamese will not be aided by another foreign intervention into their own affairs. Rather, Canadians can best aid Vietnam by opposing any Canadian intervention and demanding the unconditional right of self-determination for the Vietnamese people.

Bombing intensified

U.S. planning to stay in South Vietnam

by JON ROTHCHILD

For more than five weeks peace has been "at hand." On Nov. 24, after meeting six times in secret talks with chief North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho, presidential errand boy Henry Kissinger flew back to Washington to confer with his boss. It was four weeks and one day after he had promised the American people that only a few "linguistic difficulties" that could be cleared up in "one session" lasting "three or four days" remained to be settled.

"It was clear that the negotiations this week have been considerably more difficult than those Kissinger and Mr. Nixon predicted a month ago," Flora Lewis incisively observed in the Nov. 26 New York Times . . .

Because the negotiations are proceeding through secret diplomacy, no certain information about what specific questions are holding up the settlement has been forthcoming. There are indications, however, that at least one major issue remains the question of North Vietnamese troops in South Viet-

nam. On Nov. 25 Nhan Dan, the newspaper of North Vietnam's Communist party, stated that "there can be no peace without recognition of the principles" embodied in the nine-point accord released by Radio Hanoi on Oct. 26. The paper specifically referred to "respect for the military clauses" of the agreement and quoted a section providing for negotiation between the "two Vietnamese parties" on "reduction" and "demobilization" of forces to be conducted after the

cease-fire and without foreign interference.

The article was interpreted as confirmation of the speculation that the United States was continuing to demand that Hanoi withdraw at least some of its troops from the South and that North Vietnam was continuing to resist that demand.

While the Paris haggling went on, there was no letup in the U.S. pounding of North Vietnam's southern pan-handle. In fact, during the week Kissinger was talking "seriously" to Le Duc Tho, B-52 raids on the North reached a new level of intensity. During the twenty-four-hour period ending at noon Nov. 25 fourteen B-52 missions were flown against the North. During the weeks preceding the talks the bombing level had been averaging five to six missions a day.

A mission normally involves three



THE BOMBERS REMAIN. U.S. aircraft off coast and in Thailand are posed to strike all parts of Indochina, even if peace settlement is signed. Above, aircraft carrier personnel load bombs destined for destruction of North Vietnam.

planes, each of which carries twenty-four to thirty tons of explosives. Fourteen missions thus amounts to about 1,100 tons of bombs, in this case all of them dropped on a relatively small geographic area. Was the sudden intensification of the bombing exactly during the week of the "final" round of talks intended as a message to the Hanoi leaders, a portent of what to expect if they refused to capitulate to the latest U.S. blackmail?

There is reason to believe that such might be the case. Concurrently with the escalation of the bombing, U.S. officials revealed that American military forces in Thailand will be bolstered in preparation for possible fresh attacks on Indochina.

In the Nov. 25 New York Times James P. Sterba reported that the current U.S. troop level in Thailand — 40,000 — will be maintained "for a period of months and perhaps longer after a Vietnam settlement." Unidentified "senior officials" in Bangkok told Sterba that a "significant American military presence able to respond in an armed way" to events in Indochina would mean the indefinite stationing of U.S. fighter-bombers and B-52s in Thailand.

"Some United States Army and counterinsurgency experts would continue to train specialists from Laos, Cambodia and possibly South Vietnam if a peace agreement prohibited the presence of American military men in those countries,"

Sterba added.

But U.S. imperialism has no intention of restricting its base of operations to Thailand. In the Nov. 27 New York Times, Fox Butterfield reported that "American officials (in Saigon) . . . are secretly planning a major postwar presence of United States civilians in Vietnam, with many of them doing jobs formerly done by the military."

The civilians will apparently function under Defense Department contract and will "do everything from running the South Vietnamese military's personnel and logistics computers to teaching the Vietnamese Air Force how to fly and maintain newly provided planes and repairing the complex military communications network left behind by the United States Army."

Some 5,000 of these "technical advisers" are already in South Vietnam, Butterfield reported. The rest are arriving in Saigon "almost daily."

The ubiquitous "senior American officials" claim that the influx of civilian aggressors violates neither the letter nor the spirit of the proposed Tho-Kissinger agreement. But they refuse to supply information on what U.S. plans are. "It might upset the Paris negotiations," one official said, "and it's just not in the national interest to have these things known."

Most of the civilians will ap-

labor **Challenge**

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parently be attached to private U.S. companies that have been awarded "cost-plus" contracts by government agencies. (A cost-plus contract stipulates that the more money a company spends on a project, the more profit it is guaranteed by the government. Some cynics have suggested that this gives corporations an incentive to waste large amounts of money and, in the present case, to import large numbers of "employees" at taxpayer expense.)

In addition to the new influx of technical advisers into South Vietnam, about 1,000 members of the Agency for International Development, which has been in charge of some U.S. "pacification" programs, will also remain in South Vietnam after the cease-fire.

Hopefully, U.S. intentions to stay in South Vietnam under one pretext or another will be met by resistance from the liberation forces. In the Nov. 22 Washington Post Jacques Leslie reported that "Communist cadres a few miles from Saigon are continuing to hold nighttime meetings telling villagers to prepare for an imminent cease-fire."

Residents of Tanan, a provincial capital twenty-five miles southwest of Saigon, attended their first meeting on Oct. 15, according to Leslie. "Villagers were given detailed instructions, the residents said. They called for the organization of demonstrations against the South Vietnamese government, preparations of lists of people absent from their home villages, burial of heavy weapons and display of Vietcong flags after the cease-fire."

Tanan is the capital of Longan Province. Its northeast boundary is ten miles from Saigon's center, and it extends twenty-five miles to the southwest. Leslie's sources told him that all seven districts of Longan had been the scenes of similar meetings and that they had occurred in other provinces in the Mekong Delta area.

"The details which the villagers

gave of the meetings and their unusual openness in describing them suggest that once again in these areas there are two administrations: the South Vietnamese government, which functions in the daytime, and the Vietcong, or National Liberation Front, which appears at night."

The instructions reportedly given the villagers of Tanan indicated that the local liberation forces intend waging a serious struggle for control after the cease-fire:

Lists are to be drawn up of prisoners of war, political prisoners, and lands destroyed by the Saigon government; groups are to be established to build monuments for martyred NLF fighters; war widows and families of dead soldiers are encouraged to organize anti-government demonstrations; other demonstrations demanding lowering of taxes and demobilization of the Saigon army are to be organized; villagers will initiate campaigns to convince Saigon soldiers to desert and give their weapons to the NLF.

People are to be chosen to bury heavy weapons in places where they can be recovered when necessary; villagers will struggle to maintain the land given them under Thieu's land-to-the-people program; each family is to store excess rice for possible emergencies; delegations of villagers will demand the right to visit political prisoners in the Saigon jails.

The Thieu regime has made it clear that it regards any of the above actions as Communist activity punishable by his police. And if the Vietnamese people object to that evaluation, the U.S. bombers are ready.

— Intercontinental Press

Nov. 18 protests

Antiwar activists across Canada marched Nov. 18, in solidarity with the International Day of Protest against the continuing Indochina war, and against any moves to deepen Canada's complicity in the war with the sending of troops.

The actions were generally quite small, reflecting the illusions of the population that the war is all but over, with a peace settlement in the final stage of negotiations. The largest demonstration was in Toronto, where 350 people marched from an antiwar assembly at Holy Trinity Church through the downtown area to a rally in City Hall Square. Speakers at the assembly, including professor Gabriel Kolko, NDP MP James Renwick, Labor Challenge writer George Addison hammered home the facts that the war was not over, that the proposed settlement will not bring peace, and that the antiwar movement must continue its actions for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces and materiel.

This theme was continued at City Hall, where a range of representatives of groups in the demonstration called for a halt to Canadian government plans to send troops to Vietnam. "Vietnam for the Vietnamese — No Canadian troops," the crowd chanted.

A section of the demonstration, led by the ultraleft Old Mole group from the University of Toronto, counterposed its slogans "Victory to the Indochinese revolution" and "NLF on to Saigon," to the demands of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee

demonstration. Such slogans had little impact, however, because they failed to address the burning issue in Vietnam and Canada — the continued denial of the Vietnamese right of self-determination and the prospect of Canadian intervention.

Across Canada, 150 people marched in the rain in Vancouver, 65 marched in Winnipeg, 60 demonstrated in Ottawa, and 100 marched in Montreal. We do not yet have a report of the demonstration in Edmonton.

In the United States, there were small but spirited demonstrations and rallies in 21 American cities, the largest being 2,000 people in New York.

The demonstrations reflected the difficulties faced by the Canadian and international antiwar movement in this period, where only the activist core of the movement can be mobilized. But there are also encouraging signs. Already two provincial NDP organizations — B.C. and Alberta — have spoken out against Canadian "peacekeeping" troops going to Vietnam. More than 750 delegates to the recent B.C. NDP convention signed a telegram asking federal NDP leader David Lewis to break his silence and oppose Canadian troops.

The activists who demonstrated on Nov. 18 represent the core of organizers of future actions against Canada's complicity in the war. As such, we stand on the shoulders of the work the antiwar movement has done for the past eight years in exposing Canada's complicit role in Vietnam.

Canada helps U.S. in Vietnam blackmail

by THE EDITORS

Dec. 19 — A series of actions by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam serves to blast any illusions or hopes that peace is "at hand." On Dec. 17, presidential adviser Henry Kissinger announced that the U.S. had broken off the Paris peace talks until the North Vietnamese agreed to make more concessions. And yesterday, the U.S. resumed the bombing, with the heaviest ever attacks on North Vietnam.

The United States marshalled its entire Southeast Asia B-52 force of 200 planes for unprecedented air raids on the North Vietnamese cities of Hanoi and Haiphong. Hundreds of U.S. fighter-bombers from bases in Thailand and from five aircraft carriers in the Tonkin Gulf joined the raids. U.S. planes had earlier laid more mines in the harbors and rivers of North Vietnam.

Jean Thoraval, an Agence-France-Press reporter in Hanoi, described the raid: "Immense red lights and white flashes lit up the sky . . . Until dawn and with each attack, the effects of the bombing were felt right in the centre of town," he said.

Radio Hanoi reported that one bomb hit a crowded movie theatre in Hanoi, killing nine people and wounding another 60. Thirty-two people were reported killed in Haiphong, with hundreds of homes destroyed.

Behind these moves, on both the diplomatic and military level, stands the real aim of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam — victory by any means necessary.

Having pressured, with the help of Moscow and Peking, the Vietnamese into accepting a cease-fire settlement last October, the U.S. is now out to press its advantage, demanding more concessions from the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front. And Canada is deeply implicated in the renewed U.S. aggression.

Kissinger explained the U.S. action in breaking off the Paris negotiations at a Dec. 16 Washington news conference. He blamed the breakdown on two substantial factors: firstly, that the North Vietnamese have resisted U.S. attempts to establish the Saigon regime as having complete sovereignty over South Vietnam, pointing out that Vietnam is one country; and secondly, that the Vietnamese have balked at a U.S. plan for a four-power, several thousand-



VIETNAMESE OPPOSITIONISTS. Thousands of opponents of the Thieu regime have been rounded up in recent months.

strong supervisory force to be in place in Vietnam at the time of a cease-fire.

Kissinger told the news conference that "the North Vietnamese perception is that the total force should be no more than 250, of which nearly half should be located at headquarters; that it would be dependent for its communications, logistics and even physical necessities, entirely on the party in whose area it was located. So it would have no jeeps, no telephones, no radios of its own; that it could not move without being accompanied by liaison officers of the party that was to be investigated."

The Vietnamese are more than justified in

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opposing the U.S. proposal for the supervisory force. Such a foreign intervention could not only play a criminal, counter-revolutionary role in Vietnam itself — determining boundaries to the advantage of the Saigon regime; covering up Thieu's bloody repression of all dissent; blocking the supply of arms to the guerrilla forces but not to the regime; justifying rigged elections; etc. — but also plays a crucial role in disarming world public opinion as the Vietnamese struggle is left open for the consolidation of the Thieu regime and renewed bombing by the U.S.

Under tremendous blows from U.S. bombing, combined with the monstrous betrayal of their cause by the Soviet Union and China, the Vietnamese have been forced to make a series of important concessions — including some sort of international supervisory force. Now combined forces are out to impose a powerful supervisory force on the Vietnamese, far beyond what they are willing to accept.

The Canadian government is using its independent world position to strengthen the aggressor's hand, backing up U.S. blackmail. Kissinger's plan for a large, well-equipped and independent force closely corresponds to External Affairs minister Sharp's "conditions" on

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Canadian participation in the force. The Soviet ambassador to Canada backed the Canadian conditions at a Dec. 18 Ottawa news conference.

Following Kissinger's announcement that the U.S. was breaking off the Paris negotiations, Sharp called a press conference of his own, to stress again the Canadian conditions. "We've had direct word from Hanoi that they would like Canada to be a member of the supervisory commission," Sharp told reporters. Sharp failed to mention the size and scope of the force Hanoi had in mind.

But any sort of international force would hurt the cause of the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination. The International Control Commission in Vietnam, a force made up of representatives of Canada, Poland and India from 1954 to the present, never exceeded in size the 250 limit which Kissinger says the Vietnamese now propose. Canada has used its position on the ICC to the great advantage of U.S. war aims for the past 18 years.

The ICC legitimized the Geneva Agreements of 1954, which divided Vietnam in two — the North controlled by the insurgent Vietminh

forces and the South controlled by the French, and later by the U.S. and its various puppets. It allowed the proposed elections to reunify the country in 1956 to be cancelled by the U.S.-created Diem regime. It stood aside as the U.S. moved in with one escalation of the war after another. Far from keeping peace, the ICC bought valuable time for world imperialism to systematically move into South Vietnam, crush its opponents, establish its puppet regime, and use this base to attack the workers state of North Vietnam.

Canada's role on the ICC was crucial for the success of the U.S. effort. It used its veto power and its option to present minority reports to block any expose of what U.S. imperialism was doing. It justified time and again every act of U.S. genocide. It even acted as a direct agent and spy for the U.S. military and intelligence forces. Canadian participation on the ICC was designed, moreover, to obscure and apologize for U.S. aggression in the face of mounting worldwide opposition.

While the Vietnamese may be forced to accept some sort of international supervisory force under immense pressure, the partisans of the Vietnamese struggle in Canada are under no such pressure. Defenders of the Vietnamese right of self-determination can make no compromise on their principled demand of no foreign intervention into the affairs of the Vietnamese. There is more reason than ever today to demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and materiel from Southeast Asia. It means opposing any and all Canadian intervention in Vietnam.

SCHEDULE

This is the last issue of Labor Challenge in 1972. The next issue will be dated January 22, 1973.

Holiday greetings to our readers from the staff of Labor Challenge — and may 1973 be a year of major advances for the socialist movement.

Editorial

Speak up Mr. Lewis

With the resumption of U.S. terror bombing of North Vietnam, and with Canada deeply implicated in plans for an international supervisory force in Vietnam, one would assume that the leadership of Canada's labor party would have something to say. With its official position as adopted at a number of conventions, opposed to Canada's diplomatic and material complicity in the war, one would think that the NDP would speak out forcefully against any further Canadian intervention in the war.

But this has not been the case. To date, neither federal leader David Lewis nor any of his caucus colleagues have uttered a word of protest as the Canadian government prepares public opinion for the entry of Canadian troops into the war.

One federal MP, Andrew Brewin, actually spoke in favor of Canadian intervention at a Toronto policy convention last month. Brewin argued stubbornly against a Left Caucus resolution that opposed the sending of Canadian troops.

But the ranks of the NDP are speaking out forcefully against Canadian intervention. The British Columbia NDP convention passed unanimously the following resolution: "That the NDP of B.C. opposes the use of Canadian peacekeeping troops in Vietnam." A petition circulated at the convention urging the federal caucus to oppose the use of Canadian troops was signed by more than 750 NDP members.

Bill Dryden, provincial secretary of the Alberta NDP, released a communique on Nov. 10 that read in part: "... We should also demand of our government that they end Canadian industrial and diplomatic support for the American war effort, and will not commit Canadian 'peacekeeping' forces to the Vietnam arena when that stage of the negotiations is finally reached."

At its Dec. 8-10 convention, the Ontario NDP passed by a two-to-one majority a resolution that stated that since "the presence of Canadian troops would violate the right of the Vietnamese to settle their own affairs, be it resolved that the Ontario NDP opposes categorically the sending of any Canadian 'peacekeeping' forces to Vietnam."

The party ranks have spoken.

Silence at a time when the Canadian government is laying plans for intervention is criminal. David Lewis must speak for the party, which consistently has stood for Vietnamese self-determination, and oppose any and all Canadian intervention. Further, the NDP must commit itself to build a powerful movement of protest against this latest example of Canada's complicity in the war.

Labor takes power in Australia, N.Z.



AGAINST VIETNAM WAR. Mass antiwar movement in New Zealand and Australia is key part of radicalization.